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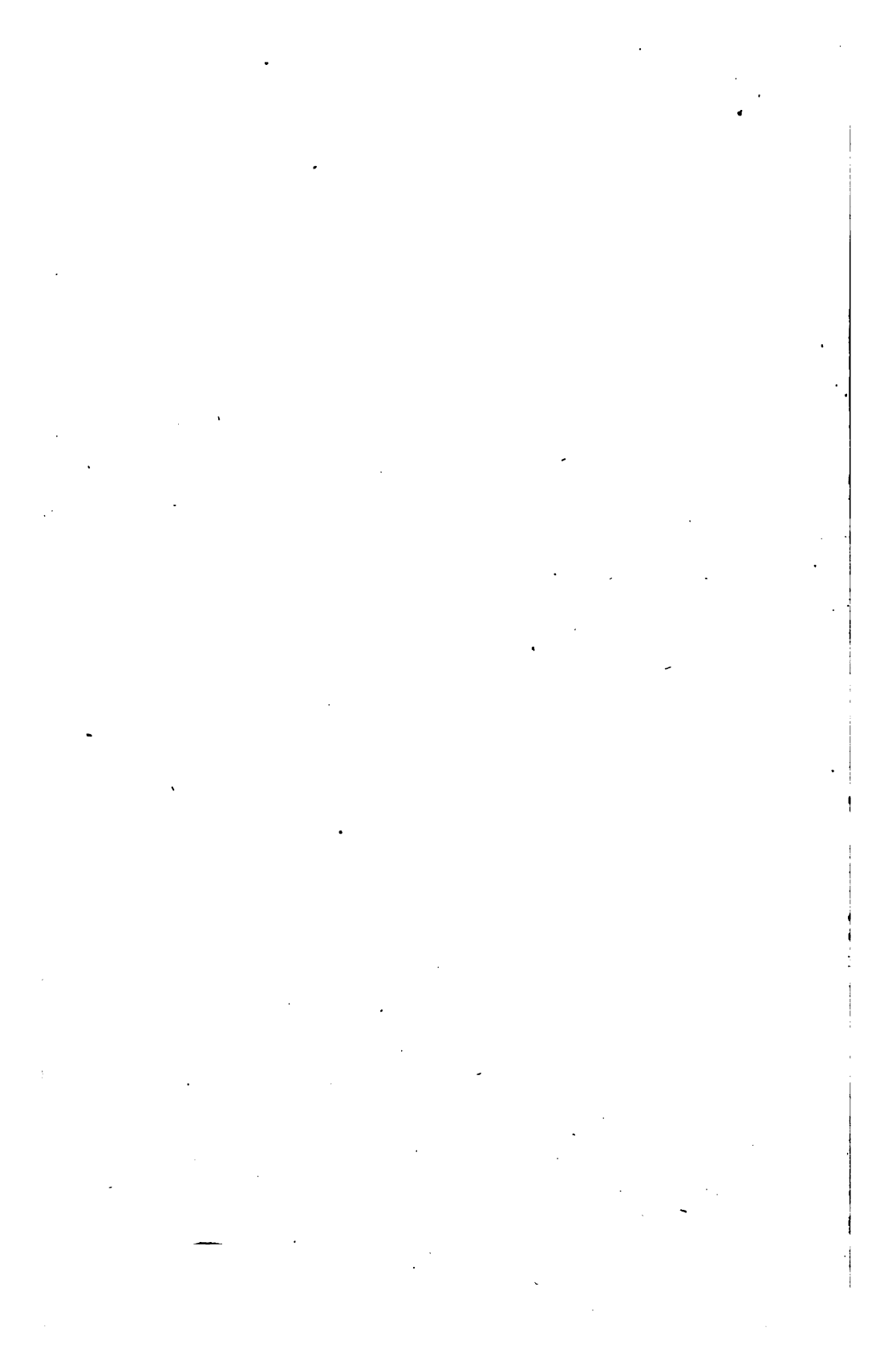
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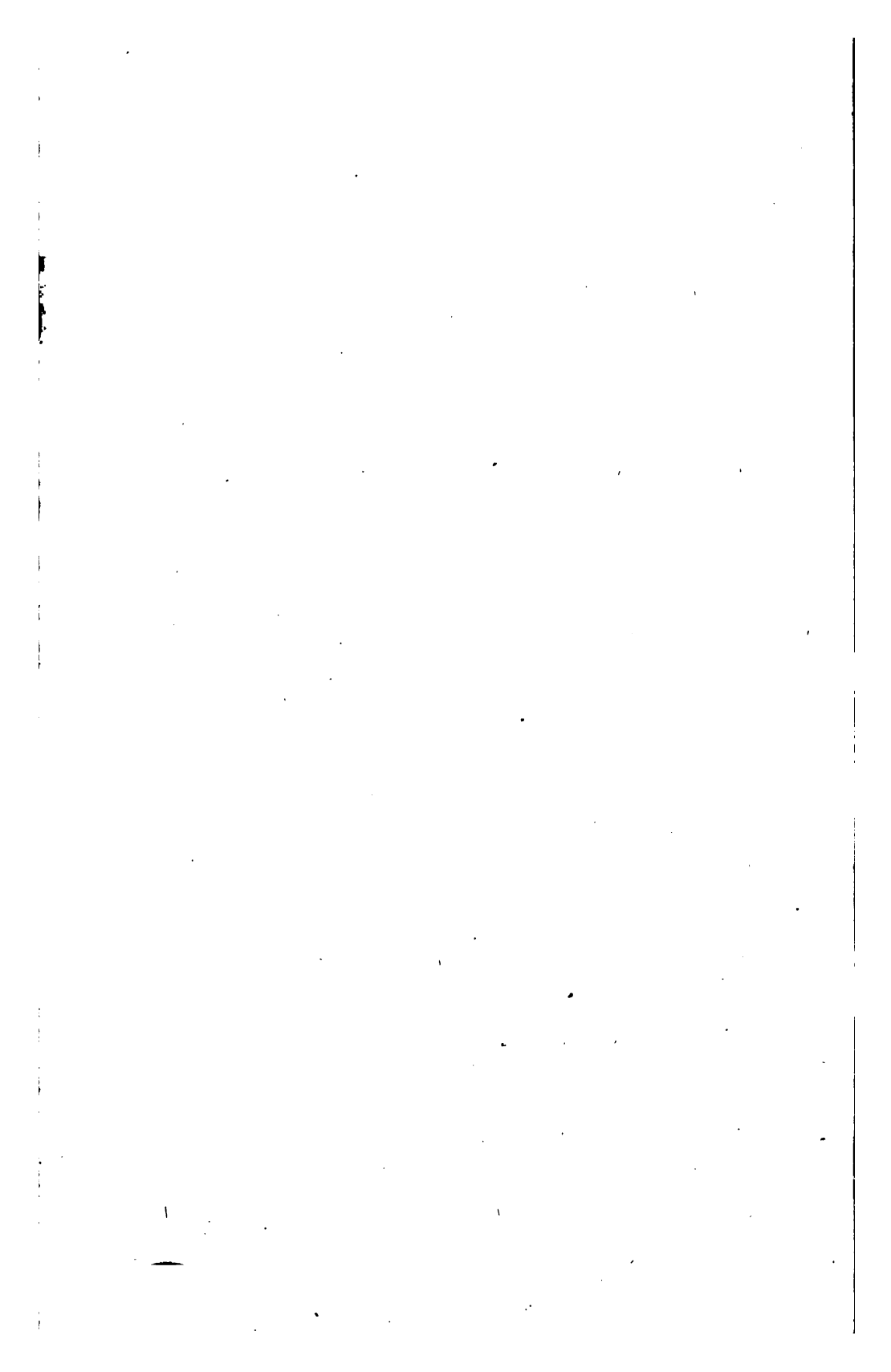


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R.H. Barker



CÆSAR
AND
THE BRITONS.



CÆSAR

AND

THE BRITONS.

BY THE REV. H. ^{anry}BARRY,

DRAYCOT CERNE, CHIPPENHAM; LATE FELLOW
OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

"Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae." *Virgil.*

"A kind of conquest
Cæsar made here, but made not here his brag
Of came, and saw, and overcame: with shame,
The first that ever touched him, he was carried
From off our coast twice beaten."

Shakespeare.

LONDON—BALDWIN AND CRADOCK,

Paternoster-Row;

AND R. ALEXANDER, CHIPPENHAM, WILTS.

MDCCCXXXI.



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Chippenham, Wilts.

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TO

JOSEPH NEELD, ESQ. M. P.

THIS ATTEMPT TO DEFEND ANCIENT BRITAIN,

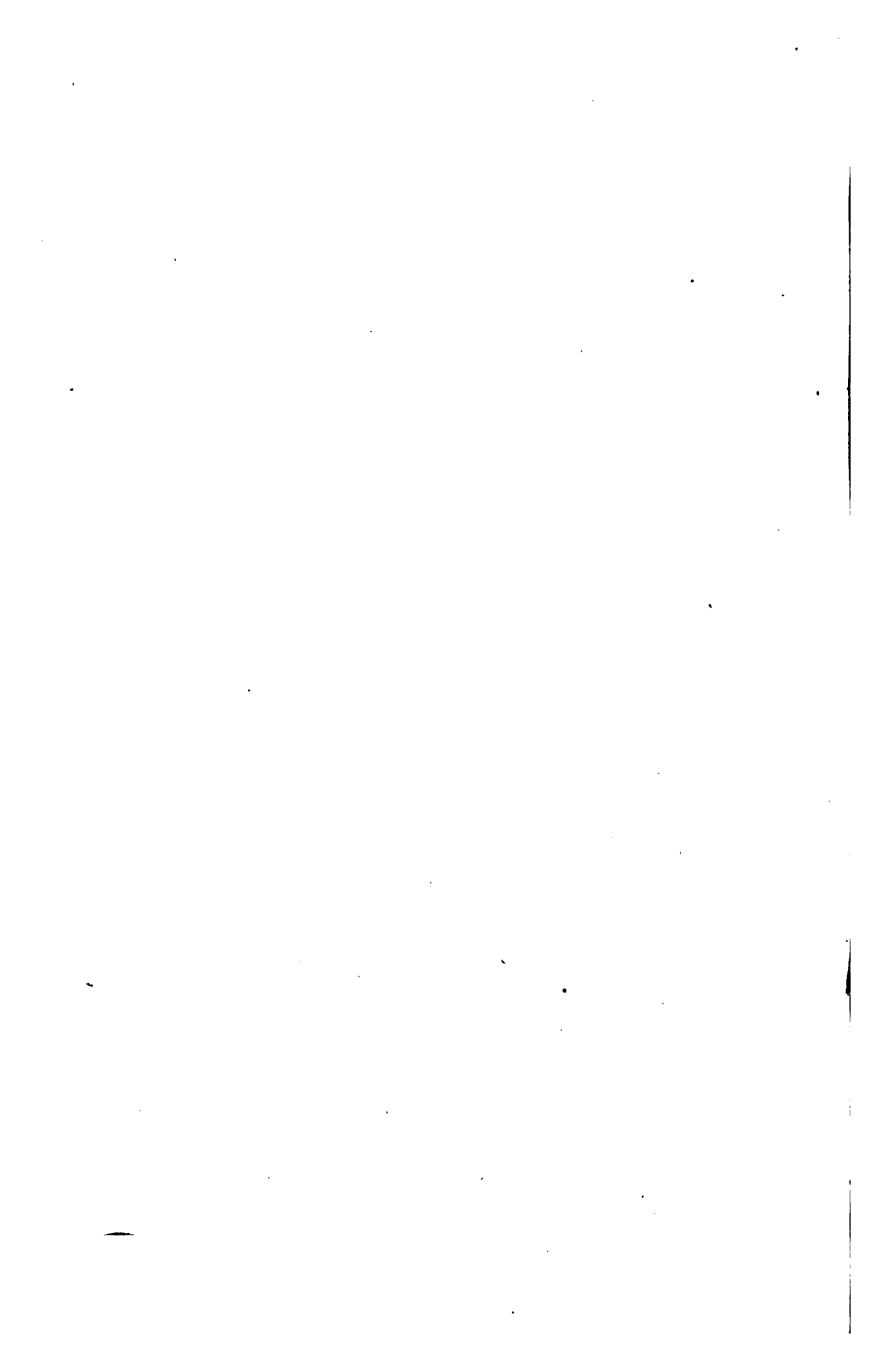
FROM THE CALUMNIES,

OF HISTORIANS, AND ECONOMISTS;

IS DEDICATED, WITH PERMISSION;

AS A TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM, AND RESPECT,

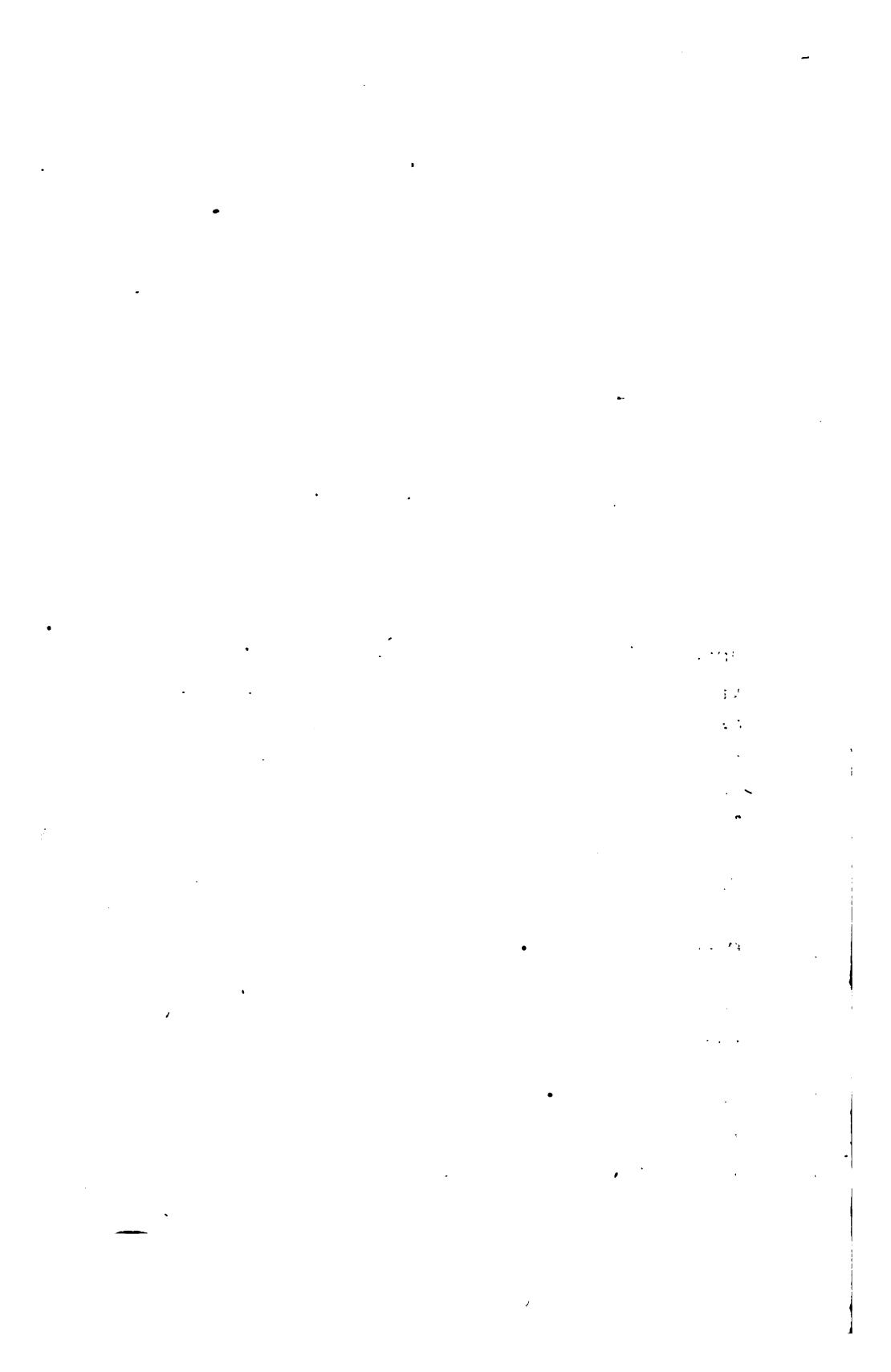
FOR PURE BRITISH FEELING.



Latin
Blackw.
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P R E F A C E.

THIS small work, is not designed, to include every thing, that might be said on a subject; which, however antiquated, is still interesting; as it treats of the glory, or disgrace, of the ancestors of the most civilized nations of the present age. Its full completion, as it depends on the uncertain favor of the public, may never be effected. It would include a variety of collateral evidence; and, if the name of Cæsar, be taken as symbolical of the Roman power; it would demand a minute scrutiny, of all the transactions of the Romans with Britain. This process would shew the preponderance of her councils, and arms, in all ages; and the utter impracticability of the success of a foreign power, against a nation, which, if true to itself, could always have defied the united efforts of the world.



CÆSAR

AND

THE BRITONS.

THE invasion of Britain by Cæsar is a period of history which has so often come before the eyes of almost every reader, that it appears to have been set at rest for ever, and the barbarism of the ancient Britons has been so peremptorily determined by men of the deepest research, and most sagacious minds, that it may seem paradoxical to dispute their assertions. But if the question has been surrounded by circumstances calculated to deceive the imagination, and pervert the judgment, if it has been opposed by prejudices most strongly rooted in our nature, and perpetually recurring, if the truth has been most studiously concealed, and the most artful falsehoods brought forward, the history of ancient Britain, tho' perpetually examined, may yet have been completely misunderstood. These considerations and the

conviction that truth is always valuable, and capable of indefinite application, have incited me to researches apparently trifling, but whose results, if well founded, may act on the whole course of the Roman history as the detection of early errors in an arithmetical process may affect the whole calculation. The confused and imperfect statements of the Romans, which indicate the most tedious and sanguinary contests, with a populous, strong, and warlike people, are supposed, almost generally, to prove nothing but the weakness and barbarism of a nation, which neither ten years of warfare, for Britain must first have been conquered in Gaul, could subdue, nor a long line of generals and emperors completely turn into a conquered province. But if the policy and campaigns of the Romans, who considered the subjugation of Britain as essential to the safety of the empire, be fairly reviewed, the mind will easily form a very different conclusion. As the policy of the Romans, pertinaciously followed by successive sovereigns, is indisputable, it is entirely unaccountable why, after the failures of Julius Cæsar, and the departure of the armies of Augustus on equal terms, the demonstrations, probably to prevent the invasion of Italy, were made by Caligula, no further attempt occurred till the fifth generation, a long period even in the history of nations, when the former invasions had become subjects of history or tradition. At this time they re-en-

tered Britain not as conquerors but as allies, when after a civil war the defeated party took refuge in Gaul, and in consequence of serious threats from the government of Britain, the Romans preferred carrying the war into a foreign country, to an invasion of Italy. These events present the picture of a nation rich enough to make its conquest desirable, and yet too powerful to be attacked with impunity. That the Romans obtained only a precarious and military possession of part of the island, is evident from the omission of the conquest of Ireland, whose ports were more known than those of Britain, in consequence of a regular trade with Spain. As Ireland was to Britain, what Britain was to the Continent, the best means of assuring its subjection, not only one legion, which in conversation was stated by Agricola to be sufficient, but even five or more legions would have been gladly employed in its reduction. But so far from the conquest being possible, it was thought a most daring exploit, to come in sight of the sea which divides Ireland from Britain. As Britain was invaded at the first opportunity, and its conquest subsequently became the great object of Roman ambition, we may be assured that the forbearance of Augustus, and his immediate successors, towards an island which according to the poets of the day rivalled Syria in wealth, and Parthia in military power, was dictated more by fear than policy. But the effect of substituting osten-

sible for real motives has been to throw a designed obscurity over the transactions of those times, and consequently, the Roman writings, the usual authorities for our early history may justly be suspected.

The fictions of regal Rome, have often been detected and exposed, while the events of her consular and imperial state are suffered to pass as undoubted history. But it has not been considered that the whole of the Roman history wants the check of opposing evidence, which has either been destroyed by the government, or has perished thro' time. History, the result of cautious and impartial examination of conflicting testimony, is seldom, if ever, found in the writers of Rome. In every public transaction, the original relater, the senate, and the people, promoted deception. The Roman history began with fable, and was continued with a perversion of truth more deceptive than fable. A mystery, in particular, hangs over the whole transactions between Cæsar and the Gauls, and Britons, which is increased by the near resemblance of the commentaries to truth, for Cæsar avoiding the usual generalizations of falsehood, has given minute details of time, place, and person. A reference to modern times will admirably elucidate the system of Cæsar. There is a striking resemblance in principle between his commentaries and the bulletins of Buonaparte. Both claim victories when defeated,

and even when a change of position betrays the failure of their plans. Both attribute adverse events to the elements, both affect to despise the enemy at the very time when he is most superior to them. In Buonaparte, detection immediately followed imposition, but the principle is so similar in the commentaries, that a minute examination convinces us, that contemporary history would have turned the greater part of his pretended victories into the most unexampled defeats. The exploits of Cæsar, at the first view so magnificent, when examined in detail, shrink to nothing, and extensive sea-fights, the passage of mighty rivers, the successful invasion of foreign countries, the reduction of powerful kingdoms to tributary states, prove either mere falsities, or gross exaggerations. It is a subject worthy of research to prove the truth or falsity of Cæsar's narrative, for the great Babylon, tho' lying in ruins, is still a subject of mystery and anxious speculation, as the effects or supposed effects of her power still subsist. The invasion of Britain by Cæsar, as connected with our early history is still interesting, but we assign to it more importance than its transitory nature and want of real connexion with our annals demand. Centuries have rolled away since that event, yet it retains its freshness in our minds, for all the writers, since Elizabeth, have fixed on it as the first era of our history, and have rejected the chronicles, not for their improbability, for they

bear the impress of truth, but because they differ from Cæsar, whose mere assertion confirms every thing, and whose denial or even silence disproves the most probable events. Thus, the Britons claim an early eastern origin, in opposition to Cæsar, who asserts that the island was peopled from the neighbouring coast of Gaul, the chronicles are consequently false, and the commentaries rank as the most authentic and unbiassed history. Such is the logic which has deceived the industrious Rapin, and the sagacious Hume. They represent the island as unknown to the rest of the world, and inhabited by tribes of Barbarians little better than painted savages. Cæsar with them is the Columbus who discovered, and the Cortez who conquered a new world. Rowland indeed, in his *Mona antiqua* has vindicated the Druids, but at the expense of the body of the people; forgetful that an enlightened aristocracy must necessarily refine the nation, and could not itself exist but in consequence of previous, and general civilization. This undisputed conviction of the barbarous state of the Britons, tho' unconfirmed even by the specious and deceptive commentaries of Cæsar, has deprived them of roads, cities, trade, commerce, and of all knowledge of civilized nations. With regard to ancient Britain, imagination even has been dormant; no scenes of pastoral innocence, no age of gold flourished in her secluded plains, no Druids stretched under her venerable

oaks, meditated the rudiments of infant science, or poured forth their simple verse. On the contrary, one uniform shade of blackness has been thrown over the picture, her supposed barbarism has been overcharged, her towns represented as confused huts, her plains without roads, and her armies mere assemblages of naked and undisciplined barbarians.

The supposition that civilization came to Britain by land thro' the circuitous route of Greece and Rome, has strengthened the idea of its barbarism; the light which shone on those refined nations being supposed gradually to lose brilliancy in its progress, and at last to shed but a moonlight ray on this benighted island. Nor would the supposition have been erroneous, for having come by land it must necessarily have been transmitted thro' many hands. By sea the effect would be entirely the reverse, the most direct and close communication would subsist between the colony and the mother country, and all improvements in science and literature, all recent inventions of trade, and maxims of commerce, would be immediately communicated. If then civilization came to these islands directly from the refined and learned nations of the East, Britain may possibly have been civilized from the most remote antiquity. The regular successive transmission of science thro' Greece and Rome, is a vulgar error unsupported either by analogy or reason. All the colonies of Tyre, in

effect all the nations of the western world, participated equally in the advantages of the mother country. All the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and the Adriatic, were in the earliest times occupied by powerful, commercial, and manufacturing nations, which equalled the refinement of Greece, whose influence extended in every direction through western Europe, and whose merchandize counterbalanced the exports of the East. For commerce could not be carried on by the mere productions of the sea-ports, but must necessarily be maintained by the produce and manufactures of the interior, sea-ports resembling the mouths of rivers, which discharge into the sea the waters collected from a vast expanse of country. If the world be examined geographically, the coast of northern Africa, and the supposition is favored by the extreme antiquity of Egypt, seems to have been the natural route for early navigation and consequent civilization. In this case, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, might have been colonized many centuries before the arrival of Cadmus and Pelops in Greece. If it be recollected that the Greeks were only colonies of the Phœnicians, there is no reason for giving them a decided superiority over the many nations which emanated from Tyre. A constant stream of civilization flowed from the East, not merely to Greece, but to every island, and accessible coast of the world. The prevailing opinion has arisen from the supposed impossibility

of early navigation, but it may easily be disproved by the nature of the art itself, and by historical evidence. The world might have remained for ever ignorant of the power of gunpowder, and steam, those great agents of the moderns in peace and war, for no natural chain of reasoning leads to their discovery. But, the most splendid navy, tho' it appear when viewed on the whole, to be the grandest effort of human art, and science, arises from a few simple data, the buoyancy of wood, and its obvious propulsion by oars, and wind. Wherever wood and iron abounded near the sea, the imagination of a child would easily picture out a floating house which might be wafted to the distant island, and even reach the unseen shores which bounded the expanse of waters that lay before him. Maritime discovery is of the most exciting nature, and would be embraced, theoretically, or practically, by every mind. Even the timid, and sedentary, listen with eagerness to the accounts of distant regions. To a coasting navigation no difficulties would present themselves, and he must be ignorant of the human mind, who supposes that navigation beginning on the shores of the Mediterranean, would be checked, and not rather excited by the outlet to an unknown sea. Colonies would be the natural result of a coasting navigation, when an abundant population, by the appropriation of land would gradually remove it from the great mass of the people. A regular

communication would of course be maintained between the colonies and the mother country, as in the art of navigation, and the principles of commerce, they were precisely equal. It is not necessary nor even possible to suppose that navigation was carried on solely by the eastern countries, for mechanical resources of the highest kind, and suited to all the exigences of naval architecture, existed not only among the Egyptians, and the Greeks, but among the most ancient Britons, as is evident from the prodigious structures of Avebury and Stonehenge.

Much stress has been laid on the remarks of Cæsar, as to the similarity of names, and customs, on the Continent, and in Britain. But the argument is convertible, and consequently inconclusive, for if the same enquiries had been made in Britain, a directly contrary answer would have been obtained. Each nation would have equally gratified vanity, by the assertion of superior antiquity. But in the conduct of Gaul towards Britain, may be recognized the attentions anciently paid by colonies to the mother country. In sacred matters the inhabitants of the Continent yielded to Britain, a presumption that the religion of Britain passed with her colonies to Gaul. The resort of the Gauls to Britain, shews that the British must have been originally superior to them in science, and by a constant communication with the East must have maintained their superiority. A few religious

rites would have been imperceptibly transferred to Gaul, long before the time of Cæsar. A continued residence in Britain, would be necessary for the numerous acquirements of the Gallic Druids, and, in all probability, they remained as long in Britain, as Plato, and others, resided in the East. This elevation in science, infers a similar progress in art, in which the reflecting, and persevering Briton, probably at all times excelled his neighbours.

The Tyrians had a natural predilection for islands, and the same motive which led them to colonize Gades, would induce them to occupy the islands of the Atlantic, and colonies in Britain would naturally extend to the Continent. The evidence of Cæsar however does not relate to the interior, whose inhabitants he expressly says were indigenious. This opinion is also maintained by Tacitus, and both authors support the doctrines of infidelity which assert the general and spontaneous production of mankind. The question therefore of the original colonization of Britain is entirely untouched by them. Notwithstanding the testimony of these authors, which, tho' partial changes may have occurred on the coast, does not affect the mass of the population, the British isles may have been peopled by direct colonies from the East. Colonization by land, in which case the inhabited parts of the world must at an early period have suffered all the evils of old

countries, rests on no good authority, is highly inconvenient, if not impossible, and is repugnant to the division of the earth into distinct nations. The colonization of the western nations by sea is far more probable, and the instance of the Suevi furnishes a strong argument in its favor. As they worshipped Isis, and carried a boat in their processions, the most direct history could not more strongly confirm their arrival by sea from Egypt. If the Egyptians colonized so remote a spot, much more would the intermediate countries, and those more adapted for commerce, demand their attention. A memorial then of Egyptian architecture as Stonehenge would fully attest their presence.

If we refer to the most authentic of all histories, we shall find that the arts, particularly that of navigation, were soon advanced to very high perfection, and it is impossible to suppose that the records of them were not most carefully preserved. Man, therefore, immediately after the flood, must have been furnished with the easiest means of transporting himself to the most distant parts of the world. The seas appear to have been arranged by providence, as a means of convenient communication between distant countries, and consequently of spreading population into every part of the globe. By land, population would extend on every side like the circles formed by a stone in a lake, but by sea, it would naturally divide itself into distinct governments, and it is the only mode by

which distant colonization could be effected, for a population extending itself by land would naturally acquiesce in the first soil that suited it. The Cretans, and Phoenicians, who are described as the most active, at a very early period, in colonizing Libya, and the countries beyond the straits of Gibraltar, must have carried on their operations entirely by sea, and with such success, that a reflux of population took place, and colonies from Spain penetrated beyond Pontus. Strabo records as an undoubted fact, that the ancients far excelled the navigators of his time in the length and importance of their voyages. When every expedition led to the most interesting and profitable discoveries, it is most probable that the utmost extension was given to the simple data on which navigation depends, for not only riches but dominion followed its successful practice. The aboriginal merchant easily became a Prince. Many events of the greatest consequence must have occurred during that long period of civilization in Crete, which the fables of antiquity have assigned to the Titans and the family of Saturn. Minos, their legitimate descendant, and evidently the heir of ages of civilization, emerges from the darkness into the light of history, as the master of a powerful fleet, and the conqueror of the Grecian islands. The navies of Crete, and Tyre, forming an insular dominion, must have been the grand instruments in colonizing, and consequently civilizing, the old world,

and more daring expeditions probably peopled the new Continents. With these powerful means, it seems absurd, without some express testimony, to recur to others far more inconvenient, and less efficient. If it appear that navigation explored every part of the globe, not excepting even the Continents of America, the secret perhaps which Phœnicia concealed from Greece, to which they were carried by the spirit of enterprise which discovered Iceland, explored the polar regions, traversed the equator, circumnavigated Africa, and penetrated to China and Australia; if commerce followed navigation or rather accompanied it, if the arts and sciences naturally spread themselves wherever navigation and commerce extended, civilization may be fairly inferred from the most minute collateral proofs, while the most ample and unbiassed testimony would be required to disprove it. Britain, in particular, as lying in the way of coasting voyages, must have been known in the most ancient times, tho' hostile nations, and seas covered with powerful fleets, might easily have intercepted it from the view of the Romans, who were naturally silent respecting countries which lay beyond their power.

Before colonization became necessary, and it is only thro' necessity that man leaves his native home, the fertile parts of the earth must have been covered with an impenetrable mass of woods, and thickets, or with lakes and morasses. The fertile

lands, therefore, would not have afforded a passage to colonies, and in deserts they must have starved. The forests of low, thorny wood, which originally covered the Continents, must have been at first cleared by a painful and laborious process, like the back settlements in America, and would be gradually occupied as the population of the coast overflowed. Without regular support, the arduous attempt of distant colonization by land, must have been followed by total destruction. But the support which colonies require from the mother country can only be conveyed conveniently by sea. Colonies of course were planned for the advantage of the mother country, and no nation without the prospect of ultimate advantage, would burden itself with the support of a remote population. But the early history of colonies is little more than an enumeration of the expenses and burdens entailed on the countries from which they emanated. If therefore they had been separated by long intervals of land, unless they could have existed without commerce and agriculture, and unless they preferred the discomforts of such a situation, colonies could not have been formed. There is the most positive evidence of the early introduction of agriculture into the world, and it is impossible that when once known it should ever be neglected. The knowledge of it would follow the most distant colonies who would always demand the advantages derivable immediately or remotely from it. The

arts of luxury may flourish or fade, but agriculture so necessary to the comfortable existence of mankind, would always be preserved, except in peculiar situations where fruits and other productions might supply its place, or the want of iron prevent its exercise, circumstances which occasioned the marked barbarism of the inhabitants of the new world. With respect to the nations of the old Continents it may fairly be presumed that they never deprived themselves of the resources of agriculture. These suppositions, if admitted, make the usual theories of population imperfect, and unsatisfactory. It follows then that colonies were conveyed by sea to the nearest convenient country, and thus became the bases of kingdoms extending into the interior, and also the origin of colonies established in remote parts of the coast, which would regard them as the mother countries. In this manner a chain of Phœnician colonies extended thro' Carthage, the east of Spain, and Gades, to Britain. Strabo remarks that man is an amphibious animal, which, if not strictly true, implies the very high antiquity of navigation, and the facility with which from the earliest ages he has resorted to the sea as to a friendly element. The early expeditions manifest a scientific arrangement, the fruit of long experience, having large ships for the open sea, and smaller vessels for exploring creeks and rivers. Tacitus says expressly that the first colonies were made by sea, and that

Germany, unless according to his favorite opinion, the natives were indigenous, was peopled in this manner. This must have been the received theory, handed down to his times from the remotest ages. Tools, agricultural seeds, and implements, and the various necessaries of an infant colony, could not be conveyed by land, but by a process which, if possible, would be more difficult, more operose, and more expensive, than navigation. The ship too, his floating house, is easily converted into a temporary habitation, as may be learned from the early settlers in Mauritania. Nothing, therefore, would prevent the colonist from proceeding instantly to the business of pasturage and agriculture, and before the timbers of his vessel were decayed, he would have leisure to erect a permanent dwelling.

These arguments for colonization by sea, will be much strengthened by a particular reference to Britain, where a freshness of orientalism may be observed, which could not possibly have been transmitted thro' the circuitous route of the Continent. Its ancient buildings, in simplicity of design, magnificence, and durability, strikingly resemble the structures of Egypt, and Hindostan. In the absence of the mountain quarry, and the granite rock, perhaps nothing more similar to them could have been erected in Britain. Druidism had its chief seat in this island, which was the school of the Continent. The contrary would have

happened if this doctrine had been transmitted by land, in which case it would have flourished in greater perfection in the deep recesses of the German forests, and have been more vivid in proportion as the land route approached nearer to the original source. The very contrary is observable. The doctrine, imitated in Gaul, and barely discernible in Germany, appears to be totally lost in the countries to the east of them. The same observations are applicable to the Persian, and other eastern customs, which prevailed in the northwest of Germany, which customs, together with the Druidism of Britain, must have been brought directly by sea by colonies from the East. The chariot, evidently of eastern origin, is found permanently only in Britain, for the corps of chariots mentioned by Livy, may with reason be conjectured to have been British auxiliaries. This early connexion with the East will remove many apparent difficulties in the British chronicles, and make it at least possible, that civilization might have been highly advanced in Britain, while Greece, and much more Rome, were buried in darkness. The East was the common school of both, and Greece may furnish a key to the events of Britain. Colonized from the East, it was thither that her philosophers resorted for information, and by a residence of many years, became thoroughly imbued with its customs and learning. Professors also from the East, as may be inferred from the

statue erected in the public gymnasium of Athens to Berosus the Chaldean, taught the sciences in Greece. If similar circumstances, as is most probable, produced a similar result, if the British Druid travelled to the East, and the eastern philosophers frequented Britain, and there is nothing absurd in either supposition, all kinds of learning, the most minute, and the most sublime, from the letters of the alphabet, to the most abstruse problems of geometry, and astronomy, whatever the sages of Greece may have acquired from Tyre, Babylon, and Egypt, must have been transferred to Britain. Mechanical and scientific knowledge, agriculture, the art of working in wood, for which Tyre and Carthage were particularly eminent, navigation, and the architecture commonly called Gothic, but which is probably Phœnician, must have flourished in Britain, from the most remote ages. The civilization of Britain must have been the necessary consequence of a long continued intercourse with refined nations. The change in America, since its discovery, shews the speedy effects of a similar connexion. If, in a comparatively short time, the hut, and hunting ground of the savage, have been supplanted by splendid cities, and cultivated fields, it is unphilosophical to suppose, human nature being the same in all ages, that similar causes have not always produced similar results. Mines of lead, iron, and tin, the natural treasures of Britain, even if trade and com-

merce be entirely excluded, were equal in value to the riches of the new world, and formed an ample equivalent to the merchandize of the East. The Tyrians, intimately connected with Assyria, India, Egypt, and Greece, were certainly not inferior in art, science, and literature, to the most polished modern nations. In the course of many centuries, therefore, every useful art, every lucrative employment, must have been introduced among the people in general, and it must have been the interest of the Tyrians to diffuse among the higher orders a taste for the refined luxuries of the East. That the Celtic nations, in the most ancient times, enjoyed a high degree of civilization, and were capable of resisting a foreign invasion, is evident from the boast on the sepulchre of Osiris, that he had led an army to the shores of the Atlantic. An armament of this kind must have found, or produced, civilization. That the Celtic nations were rich, and consequently civilized, is clear from the character of avarice, which is ascribed to Cæsar by Dion, and which both he and his followers abundantly gratified. Mamurra, the master of the works, was the first Roman who indulged in the costly luxury of encrusting his house with marble; and Cæsar, in addition to the payment of his debts, built forums, collected the pictures of the most eminent masters, reduced the price of gold, and finally purchased the forbearance of the Gauls with their own money.

We are often deceived in our view of former times, by comparing them with the present, which come upon us with a glow of existence which is denied to the past. The objects of antiquity are diminished by distance, but it is the office of reason to present them in their true magnitude. Nature has given us in the present, a mirror reflecting the wishes, fears, and ambition, which have enlivened and tormented former ages. The present, a floating point, is perpetually supposed to excel all preceding periods. But this opinion can only be true on the supposition that the world has been progressively improving. If refinement has been moving in a circle, this opinion may be sometimes right, and sometimes wrong. In some particulars every age profits by the labors of past generations, but the arithmetical operations of time, include subtraction, as well as addition. Society has often approached the bounds of civilization, and as often receded, when perfection, real or relative, has precluded the hope of excelling, and has again advanced, when time, by withdrawing from public attention the objects of rivalry, has again afforded motives for exertion. We have therefore no claim, as from the pinnacle of accumulated experience, and knowledge, to look down with contempt on former ages. Some qualities are merely personal, and the standard of excellence is alternately exalted and lowered by the caprice of fashion. For it must be remarked, that the world seeks not what

is positively good, but what may distinguish individuals from the mass of mankind. The higher orders, therefore, are refined, when the manners of the people are vulgar; and gross, when the world in general aims at refinement. The civilization of manners is therefore fluctuating, and by no means progressive. Nor is art, tho' less uncertain, by any means exempt from the caprice of fashion, and by disuse its secrets are lost. Besides, architecture, painting, statuary, and music, are in a great measure personal, and advance, or decline, as they become more or less honourable to their professors. Retrogradation must be allowed, as well as advancement, otherwise it might rashly be concluded that civilization had never visited the shores of Pentapolis, Egypt, and Greece. Britain has not escaped the alternations of refinement and grossness, strength and weakness, and an intermediate retrogradation is distinctly observable, between the time of Cæsar and the ultimate successes of the Romans, and still more before the invasion of the Danes. This retrogradation may be referred to the establishment of the Heptarchy, or something similar, in the interval between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius. The British isles can only flourish in the highest degree under the dominion of one sovereign. The necessary consequence of numerous independent kingdoms, jealous of each others improvement, would be the degeneration and impoverishment of the whole

country. The supposition of Adam Smith, that civilization, in Britain, may be considered as perpetually decreasing from the present moment, cannot be supported either by analogy or reason.

Where no monuments of civilization are found, we often falsely infer that it has not existed. Thus, while the remains of art, force us to assent to the high civilization of Greece, the equally certain, but less obvious, refinement, of Phœnicia, Carthage, and Britain, is doubted, or even disbelieved. Thus the splendid prophecy of Thucydides, as to the future opinions respecting Sparta, and Athens, has often found a counterpart.

It is extremely difficult to make a just comparison, of the past with the present, where every thing is seen in all the minuteness of detail, and magnified by the greatness of the angle it presents, so that a leaf held up before the eye hides the distant forest. The present is like a living animal, the past resembles the same animal in a state of decomposition; where only the bones remain, to enable the historical Cuvier to guess at its original conformation. When governments and languages are destroyed, events, which once shook Europe from one extremity to the other, shrink to obscure summaries, and only hold their place in the memory of mankind, by a few words, in a new, or foreign tongue. These deceptions, and egotism, for no one ever lived in a dark age, give our own times and country, more than their proper share

of splendour. The present time is our country, we therefore, without the least regard to relative merit, prefer it to the past, which is foreign to us. The nations of antiquity lie buried in perpetual slumber, and, instead of presenting sensible objects, in the pomp and noise of war, the bustle and riches of commerce, the excitement of new and fashionable amusements, only raise faint images in the mind of the solitary reader. Yet, as there has always been a similar amount of talent in the world, it is difficult to imagine how the means of civilization could ever have been neglected. The same cause, which originally made art the nature of man, would not suffer it to lie dormant, even among nations entirely detached from the rest of mankind; and the slightest spark, from any civilized country, would kindle a fire which could never be quenched. If we refer to his source, we must not only infer, but prove his barbarism. The light must be withdrawn, before he can be plunged in darkness. The strongest principles of his nature urge him, when the ordinary comforts of existence are secured, to aim at higher degrees of refinement, to slight the greatest luxuries, if common to all, and to feel that their value arises almost entirely from the distinction they confer. Man, so far from neglecting the means in his power, has always fallen into a contrary error, the pursuit of objects absolutely unattainable. Not contented with surmounting the clouds, and diving to the

bottom of the ocean, he has speculated on penetrating the vast body of the earth, traversing the space that divides him from other worlds, and holding communion with the invisible world of spirits. Even advantages, merely ideal, have often been the objects of his pursuit. Fame, the dream of a man awake, and posthumous reputation, that concert for the deaf, and prospect for the blind, have been purchased by the most dreadful sacrifices. With this activity of spirit, if provided with the elements of civilization, the use of the metals, particularly of iron, and the application of the powers of the horse, his advance becomes rapidly progressive. Provided with these, he forms a comfortable and elegant dwelling, follows tillage and pasturage, and, by means of the sea, communicates with the most distant nations. As an individual, he is either himself productive, or, by his wants and wishes, acts as a perpetual stimulus on the talents and industry of others. If then we suppose a nation with all the means of civilization in its power, and in constant communication with highly polished states, it requires the most clear, and positive testimony, to convict it of barbarism. And yet, this, by every account, was the precise condition of the Britons, at the time of Cæsar's invasion. Capable of a very high degree of mechanical ingenuity, as is evident from their ancient structures, and their artificial mode of ship-building, if the usual opinions be admitted, they were contented

to want the most simple contrivances, which the nature of the climate imperiously demanded. Without the riches which can only be gained by successful agriculture, trade, and commerce, they could resist the attacks of a people commanding nearly the whole world, directed by one of their most active and intelligent generals.

The early connexion of Britain with the East, cannot be supposed to have existed without proportionate effects. The Tyrians were possessed of the best parts of Lybia, and Spain, and doubtless extended their voyages to Britain, above a thousand years before the Christian era, a time sufficient for the utmost extension of commerce, the greatest increase of population, the most important revolutions, which any theory might require. But we shall not arrive at just conclusions as to this subject, unless, dropping our early notions of the peculiar virtues, and warlike qualities of the ancients, we view them as highly commercial; and consider their refinement, and their military expeditions, as emanations of national wealth, and reflect that the motives of human action have been the same in all ages. Colonies must always have been made in the hope of advantage, and wars carried on for the acquisition of territory, and the reduction of too powerful neighbouring states. But, the principle of the constant similarity of human nature, has been perpetually violated by the writers who have treated on antiquity. Trade,

commerce, and the particular interests of mankind, according to the general statements, have not produced their customary effects. Heroic ages, superhuman virtues, and causeless expeditions, have, contrary to analogy, usurped a place in the imagination. But all the great expeditions of antiquity may be explained by reasons of policy. There is no natural line of demarcation between the ancient and modern world, no essential difference between them, consequently, all the phenomena of antiquity may be explained, by the known necessary consequences of recent events. Tyre is allowed to have been commercial, but we lose sight of the magnitude and extent of her connexions with Egypt, Assyria, Arabia the mother country, and with the East Indies, the islands and continent of Greece, and the best parts of Africa and Spain. We forget the enterprising spirit which pushed discovery to the unpromising regions of the North, with a scientific boldness which might easily have led the Tyrians to the new world. That they actually arrived there is probable from the mode in which the mines had been worked before the voyage of Columbus. The duration of their expeditions agrees better with America than with the East Indies.

The use of the Nile and the Red Sea, in connecting the Mediterranean with the Indian ocean, must have been known in the earliest ages. The Nile almost literally flowed with gold. By means of his ample and peaceful waters, the riches of

Ethiopia, Arabia, and India, entered the Mediterranean, and were diffused thro' the whole world. The profuse demand for spices must have stimulated the industry of Europe and Asia. In addition to the supply anciently required by Egypt, whole streets in Athens and Rome were appropriated to their sale; not a single medical prescription was made up without spices, and other ingredients, from the East. They were mixed with wine, used at every entertainment, at every funeral, and at every sacrifice, from the simple domestic Lar, to the majestic Jupiter. The extension of commerce in the East, occasioned the fable of the invasion of India by Bacchus, for wine was the staple commodity of the coasts of the Mediterranean. The expedition has the air of a peaceful, that is, a commercial enterprise. The thunder and lightning which accompanied the birth of Bacchus, the destruction of the mother, that is, the cluster of grapes from which the wine is pressed, the long tapering vessels in which it was confined, the covers of which were secured by linen sewn over them, shew that this deity was simply a commercial commodity. The vast amount of eastern commerce, required the produce and manufactures of all Europe in exchange. Greece, in imitation of Tyre the mother country, paid the most particular attention to commerce, which, with agriculture, was the foundation of her wealth and refinement. The grand displays of art and skill in the public games, were caused

entirely by extensive marts which collected the population. This explanation will better account for the concourse of people, than the mere desire of being spectators of the games. The great assemblage of people, previously existing, produced the games, which naturally followed, as similar contests at modern fairs, but these rude materials were improved by the exquisite ingenuity of the Greeks. The Isthmian games were caused by the grand emporium of Corinth, which connected the commerce of Europe and Asia, and which evidently existed before them. As the merchandize of Europe and Asia was exchanged at the Isthmus of Corinth, two consequences followed, that the imports of Lechæum equalled those of Cenchreæ, and that commerce extended equally far both in an eastern and western direction. But a circle, with the Isthmus as the centre, at the distance of the Egyptian Thebes, or Colchis, will comprehend the whole of the Adriatic, and a great part of Gaul. If commerce extended thus far, it is impossible to bound by an imaginary line, a principle, which, in modern times, cannot be restrained by the highest mountains and the roughest seas. The immense disproportion between the countries, on either side of this imaginary line, would extend the blessings of commerce to the north of Gaul, and to Britain. The Greeks, at a later period, being as active in the Atlantic as the Tyrians, it is impossible to suppose that the superabundant wealth of the

Mediterranean was not conveyed to Britain, either thro' Massilia, or by a direct trade. The ingots of brass and iron, which were used by the Britons, enabled the nation to purchase directly articles of foreign commerce, and the Phœnicians laid open to them the merchandize of the civilized world. But, there is no reason for supposing that the gold and silver, which abounded in the time of Agricola, was deficient before the invasion of Cæsar.

The pre-eminence of commerce at Athens is evident from the proposition made by Xenophon, that ship-owners and merchants should be honored by the first seats in assemblies, and its station was not inferior at Rome; for Horace, at the end of a description, evidently intended as a climax, places the merchant enriched by the commerce of the Atlantic, and of the East. At Rome the short-hand writer, and the calculator, had larger classes of pupils, and were more esteemed than the professor of literature, whose character was frequently held up to contempt. It is a mistake to suppose that Greece and Rome, as nations, were warlike, or literary, otherwise than in consequence of the riches gained by commerce, which naturally introduces among other luxuries, that of mental refinement. The early institution of a college of merchants at Rome, and the founding of Ostia, evidently as a sea-port for the metropolis, indicate the extreme attention paid to commerce by the Romans. It must have been more by her riches, than her mili-

tary virtue, which has been equalled at all periods, that Rome conquered the world. Her commercial enterprise extended to the west of Spain, to Gaul; and virtually to Britain. By means of a most extensive commerce with the Hermanduri, the merchandize of the nations on the banks of the Elbe was brought to Rome, and the commodities of Italy found their way to the North seas. It is impossible, therefore, that any of the Celtic nations should have been concealed from the view of the Romans. Carthage, which equalled Greece in military power, and Persia in splendour, and probably exceeded Tyre in riches, as she sent out colonies in all directions, must have paid particular attention to the British islands. Carthage ranked with Greece in science and refinement, and far exceeded Rome, which was obliged to learn from her the necessary arts of agriculture and navigation. The intercourse of Britain with Carthage, particularly thro' the medium of Spain, must have been incessant. In fact, the common theories about Britain, could have been true only on the supposition, that the island had been concealed, far out of sight, in the bosom of the ocean, and scarcely accessible, by means of the mariner's compass, to a navigator like Columbus. But when we reflect on the antiquity of navigation, and the early date of colonies, and consider that a coasting voyage of discovery thro' the straits must necessarily lead to it, Britain must have been known in the most

ancient times. But to be well known to the polished nations of antiquity is but one remove from civilization itself. Early colonization will give a space sufficient, before the invasion of Cæsar, for the greatest revolutions, for the total disappearance of large and magnificent cities, for the existence of different stages of society, and for various alternations of peace and war with foreign countries. Events of this kind are dimly shadowed out in the early chronicles. It cannot be supposed that wars never happened between the Tyrians, and the Britons, accordingly we have in the fables of antiquity, intimations of an invasion, or conquest, or pretended conquest, of Britain. The triple kingdom of Geryon applies better to Britain than to Spain; Loegria, Albany, and Cornwall, having been often united under the same sovereign. The fable of Antæus implies the real existence of the Tyrian chieftain Hercules, of whose exploits the west was a principal scene. The power of Hercules, as a Tyrian, lay in his fleet, and the engagement with Antæus was only successful when he was intercepted from the land. As long as he could return to port to refit, and recruit, the contest was doubtful. The adventure also of Hercules with Cacus affords another proof of his real existence, and of his actual invasion of the western nations. It was no doubt an attack with an army on a mountain fortress, whose entrance, when besieged, was defended by an immense portcullis.

The three several retreats of Hercules, cannot apply to an individual, tho' they agree perfectly well with an army. At the fourth assault the walls were beaten down by military engines, and the fortress taken. The actions of armies are easily ascribed to the individuals who conducted them, as we say in modern language, Buonaparte invaded Russia, Wellington delivered Europe. The pagan mythology gives the outline of the earliest postdiluvial history; tho' its violent removal from the East, has caused, or at all events has increased, the confusion, arising from the deification of half-forgotten kings, and heroes. The fables also give an intimation of the most successful commerce. The golden shower which fell on Rhodes, was the share which that powerful island had in the India trade, thro' the Nile, and the Red Sea. The actual amount of the India trade, whose influence was felt throughout the known world, was certainly not less, and perhaps greater, than at present, because the returns were more frequent, and more secure, than by the circuitous voyage round the cape. Arabia, Persia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, and the whole coasts of the Mediterranean, the Euxine, and the Adriatic, must have given a greater stimulus than the present demand. When we consider the populousness of Gaul; the riches of Spain; the long line of powerful kingdoms, communicating with India, by the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf; the flourishing

state of Syria, and Judæa, the whole coast of Asia, studded with highly civilized and commercial cities; the little islands of Greece almost invisible in the bosom of the ocean, overflowing with riches, and taking a leading part in the events of the world; and the now almost deserted Athens, the resort of every commercial nation; and when we reflect that this commerce, by the navies of Phœnicia, Carthage, and Massilla, and by the channels thro' Gaul, communicated with Britain; we may fairly conclude, that the chronicles have not over-rated the importance and resources of the island. The Veneti must have supplied Britain, with foreign merchandize, in prodigious quantities, and as appears from their efforts to prevent invasion, of immense value. As commodities of equal amount were returned from Britain, the industry of the whole country must have been stimulated, and the assertion is disproved, that the interior of Britain was less civilized than the coast of Kent. It is an argument of the activity, and sensitiveness, of ancient commerce, that the invasion of the Greek states of Asia Minor, by Cyrus, was discussed in Spain, and contributions sent from that country, for the purpose of repelling it. But if Spain, which, for centuries before this event, flourished in commercial prosperity, traded with Asia Minor; much more would her commerce extend to Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and the coasts of the Baltic; countries considerably nearer to them, and abounding in all

the requisites for shipping. Spain, thus forming the connecting link between the eastern and western nations, confirms the ancient civilization of Ireland, the Duchy of Cornwall, and the whole coast of Britain; and makes entirely unnecessary the supposition, that civilization was transmitted to these countries thro' the medium of Gaul. Writers have not sufficiently attended to the pervading, and creative power of manufactures, and commerce; and have not reflected, that war, which has been often noticed as a source of wealth, can only enrich particular nations, at the certain loss of the whole community of mankind. Tillage, manufactures, and commerce, must have flourished in other countries, before the predatory nations could gain anything by their conquest. The activity of ancient commerce was unremitting, and penetrated both by sea, and land, and river navigation, in every direction, exchanging, and distributing, the riches of the globe, and conveying, by innumerable little rivulets, the means of civilization, and refinement, to all mankind. Commerce has been the grand cause of civilization, however obscure it might have been, and overlooked among the brilliant, and destructive events, which are recorded in history. The minute, and often disgusting, details of commerce, which, at the best, has little for history to record, or for poetry to embellish, have blinded mankind to the supreme importance of the whole. Yet this strong, but

regular, under-current, has effected more changes in the world, and of greater importance than the most glorious conquests, which are generally trifling, and of short comparative duration, retarding, rather than advancing, the progress of civilization. Yet writers have softened the horrors of war, by the reflection, that without its means, geographical knowledge would not have been extended, nor civilization promoted. Alexander, in their opinion, discovered the route to India, which was familiarly known long before his time, and established a communication; tho' he crippled commerce, by weakening the Persian Empire, and destroying Tyre. In the same manner, Cæsar, and the Romans, discovered and civilized Britain; tho' by annihilating the power, influence, literature, and traditions of the Druids, they inflicted a lasting wound on its prosperity. The silent, but certain operations of commerce, had produced their full effect in Britain, before Rome was known as a nation, even in Italy, unless it can be proved, that the Romans excelled the Greeks, and the eastern nations, in manners, refinement, and literature. The whole expenses of war, are so much lost to science, and civilization, while the capital expended on commerce, is permanent, and progressive. The total cessation, therefore, of war, would be the era of the most complete civilization.

The aggregate of the great operations of commerce, is not only unknown to posterity, but not

very apparent in the times when they happen. Posterity may therefore, well be ignorant of events which are generally hidden, even from the age in which they were transacted. If the present power of England were destroyed, and superseded by other dynasties, and new languages; her enormous East India trade, and commerce with all the world, would pass away as a dream, and leave not the least record behind them; and the sun of Britain, which now shines so gloriously, would become a dim, and distant star. If we suppose for the next eighteen hundred years, such a series of events as followed the ancient British times, the soil occupied by foreign invaders; and the language become dead; none of our writers would survive; every memorial almost, of the English nation, would perish, and we should become to that late posterity, exactly what the ancient Britons are to us. But without this great change, if it be recollected that a very few centuries have removed Chaucer entirely from general view, made Ben Jonson antiquated, and much of Shakespeare difficult even to scholars, time may at length obliterate the whole. It is not then absurd to suppose that the poems of the Druids, elaborated by successive generations, devoted to the purpose, should in their day, have had equal popularity, and not less merit.

There is no occasion to give to the colonization of Britain, a much less ancient date, than to the oldest countries in the world. For, the population

of the Mediterranean, redoubled according to the most received theories, must in a few centuries after the creation, have passed the straits of Gibraltar, and colonized the coasts of Spain, Gaul, Britain, and the North of Europe. But the process, from the imperfect state of geography, must have been difficult, and tedious. It cannot be imagined that all previous knowledge, particularly that of geography, perished with the flood. These records being preserved, and navigation being in a high degree of perfection; upon the least pressure of population, in the first inhabited country of the Mediterranean, without absolute necessity, and without the tedious process of voyages of discovery, colonies would at once seek the countries, which they knew to exist beyond the straits, Islands, and particularly Britain, would be most acceptable to a naval power. Britain, therefore, it is certain, was colonized at a very early period. Colonies always maintain a close intercourse with the mother country. Britain, therefore, must have learned from the East, tillage, and pasturage, which were practised by the first inhabitants of the globe; and architecture, metallurgy, music, and navigation, with other kindred arts, which flourished even before the flood. This remote antiquity of Britain, with its intimate union with the rest of the world, fully justify every conclusion as to its population, and resources, and abundantly realise the supposed fables of the chronicles. In

this manner time will be given for the revolutions which took place in Britain, before the invasion of Cæsar; for it cannot be supposed that the ancient Britons of all periods were exactly alike. The builders of Avebury and Stonehenge, were perhaps separated from each other by many centuries, and must have been of the most remote antiquity, as they are totally unnoticed, both by the chronicles, and the interpolator of Cæsar. These times must have had their peculiar customs, religion, and government. To these, after a similar lapse of time, succeeded the Druids, whose religion was gradually corrupted by the superstitions of Athens. These were the princes, and priests, of the ancient Britons of the commentaries, and of the chronicles; the builders of temples, cities, and fleets; the antagonists, and conquerors of Cæsar. The early fables of the Greeks, describe, under the name of Elysian fields, and islands of the blessed, rich and happy countries, far to the west, enjoying a perpetual spring, and refreshed by constant gales from the ocean. This would be the precise appearance and state of the British islands, when accessible; for the greenness of the pastures, even in summer and autumn, would always suggest, to the eastern navigator, the idea of spring. Mere fiction would have given eternal autumn; where, as in the gardens of Alcinous, fruit, should follow fruit, in endless succession. They had many charms for the Grecian traveller, and contrasted with his sun-

burnt plains, appeared in all the splendour of rural beauty. His lively imagination, struck with plains abounding with fresh water, woods stored with game, the cool refreshing breezes, and temperate climate, judged these islands, to be rather the habitation of Gods, than men. Diodorus Siculus, copying from some elder author, mentions an island in the western ocean, many days voyage from Africa, abounding in fruit, varied with hills and plains, and of excessive beauty; watered by navigable rivers; with elegant residences, parks, and an infinity of gardens, with houses of entertainment in them. These images have an eastern, or to speak more nearly, a Phœnician aspect, and agree wonderfully with the traditions recorded by Holmshed. Later writers have depicted the country more by its riches, than its happiness, and have drawn the outline of a community, whose commercial resources, enabled it to enjoy wine, and oil, without the trouble of cultivation, and to revel in the productions of the world. The temperate climate, and the total absence of beasts of prey, and noxious animals, clearly point out the British islands, and particularly Ireland. Diodorus Siculus describes the island as known to the Phœnicians from the most ancient times, and states that the Tuscans were desirous of colonizing it, but were prevented by the Carthaginians, who wished to secure a retreat, and who probably migrated hither in considerable numbers at the destruction

of Carthage. But a slight, tho' curious fact, partly proves that the Tuscans completed their project. A village in the potteries, originally called Etruria, has been corrupted by the vulgar to Truro. By analogy of reasoning, Truro in Cornwall, a place admirably adapted for a commercial colony, may have been called, by the Tuscans themselves, Etruria. The subject of the conversation between Solon, and the priest of Sais, has generally been regarded as fabulous. But on a close inspection, it evidently relates to an event of high antiquity, and can only be referred to these islands. The priest mentioned that an island of immense size, with other islands in subjection to it, beyond the straits of Gibraltar, the influence of whose king extended as far as Tuscany and Egypt, had, in former times subdued the whole of Europe and Asia, and invaded Egypt, but were ultimately repelled by the Athenians. This expedition probably ended, like the subsequent invasions of Greece, in the establishment of extensive colonies. Navigators, not being able to find the island, as they expected, not far from the straits of Gibraltar, naturally supposed it overwhelmed by the sea, and thus the account assumed the complexion of a fable. The Cimmerian expedition, which gave its name to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, was probably made by land, at the same time that the Celtic fleets passed into the Mediterranean.

Britain composed a part of the Celtic empire,

and must always have nearly resembled Gaul, tho' superior in the arts, sciences, trade, and commerce. Its wealth gave it the necessary predominance, caused it to have been the main spring of every continental enterprise, the great school of the arts, and sciences, the avenger of the injured, and the asylum of the distressed. The fragments of Dionysius, lately recovered by Maio of Rome, from the palimpsest manuscripts, give a magnificent idea of the vast extent of the Celtic Empire. It agrees with the extraordinary invasions, and subjugations of Italy, and Greece, by the Celtic nations; and proves that these countries either existed in full splendour before the foundation of the later monarchies; or flourished at the same time, in the immense theatre, which nature had allotted to them; and which, more than any other, could lay claim to universal dominion. Ancient history was restrained within its limited locality, by the dread of most powerful nations in the west. Early conquests were checked by the pillars of Hercules, tho' the western world was, geographically, as open to them as the shores of the Mediterranean, and was never shut against the merchant, and the philosopher. The dominion of the Celts, in ancient times, extended thro' all Europe; for Ephorus, evidently speaking of a very ancient system of geography, divides the world into four parts; assigning the North to the Scythians, the South to the Ethiopians, the East to the Indians, and the West to the

Celts. When this division prevailed, the platform of the Greek and Roman empires, was occupied by the Celts, consequently the establishment of these empires was an act of treason against the Celtic dominion. The successive invasions then, of the Celts, were less wars of aggression, than attempts to regain their former power. The boundaries of Celtica, according to Dionysius, were the Alps, the Scythian nations bordering on the Danube, and the Atlantic ocean. He represents the empire as extending to the North Pole, as intersected by the Rhine, and as little less than the fourth part of Europe. This prodigious tract of country, when united in alliance, or when individuals like Charlemagne, and Buonaparte, exercised a predominating influence over the Continent, was equal to the greatest results. But this state of things was not natural, and at the death of these individuals the Continent instantly reverted into separate governments. Without this supposition it is impossible to account for the vast expeditions of the Celts, at some periods, and their total inactivity at other times. As the motives and actions of mankind are always similar, no difference could have existed between the ancient and modern systems, in war and peace. The Romans, like the French republic, adopted foreign wars, to defend themselves from invasion; and the Celts were interested in repressing the growing power of Italy, and of Rome. There is no foundation for the universal desire

of colonization, attributed by writers to the Celtic nations, or, as they are termed without adequate reason, hordes of barbarians, and shepherd tribes of the north of Europe. The usual desire of conquest sufficiently accounts for their expeditions. Cæsar says expressly, that Orgetorix, the mover of the Helvetian expedition, was induced by a desire of dominion, and that the Helvetians thought, a motive for war in all ages, that their territories were too confined for their former glory, and military reputation. The recent invasions of Egypt, Spain, and Russia, may, in course of time, shrink into Cimmeric expeditions in quest of new habitations. These supposed barbarous incursions of ancient times, when viewed nearer, must have appeared precisely similar in principle and practice. The details of present events are gradually divested of particulars. The same process has affected all former transactions. All great events fill the mind with a mysterious, and awful apprehension of future consequences, and their magnitude sensibly diminishes, when they have either not followed, or their effects have ceased. The voluminous document gradually sinks into dry annals, or, if the spirit of the age permit, degenerates into fable. Examples of all these are to be found, from the wars of the last generation, to the brief records of the early Celts; from Alexander, who existed in a transition state, to Hercules, whose exploits have long vanished into fable. In addition to the

usual operations of time, a studied obscurity has been thrown over all the events of Celtic warfare. But, if the invasion of Britain had fully succeeded, a decidedly different turn would have been given to the narrative of the commentaries, and its reduction would have been represented as the leading object of the war. Cæsar neglected all other pursuits for the invasion of Britain; justly concluding, that success would have been equivalent to the total conquest of Gaul, by placing the continental Celts between Italy, and conquered Britain. The invasion of Britain could not have been of that subordinate, and episodic nature, intimated by the narrative of Cæsar. The immense expeditions into Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor, tho' so slightly mentioned by historians, must have been more important in their present effects, and consequences, than is generally supposed. When we consider the high discipline, and long military experience, of the nations invaded by the Celts; it is evident that they must have attained a perfection in the art of war, which must have been founded on great agricultural, and commercial prosperity. In the invasion of the Cimbri, and in former campaigns, there is not the slightest trace of the supposed migration of the pastoral nations from the north of Europe. The Celtic invasion of Greece and Asia Minor, was most remarkable for its immediate success, and the permanent effects resulting from it. It was probably, as asserted by the

chronicles, coeval with the invasion of Italy. For, it is difficult to imagine, in distant ages, two enterprising conquerors in remote regions, of the same names, and of characters, and actions, precisely similar. The powerful influence which could carry an army round the Adriatic to Greece; where, defeating the Athenians, it plundered Delphi: must have issued from populous nations, made rich, and powerful, by successful agriculture, and commerce. The settlements in Asia Minor, are convincing proofs of the immense resources of the mother country. This vast expedition, the third distinct invasion of Greece by the Celts, is passed over by historians, as an incursion of barbarians, of mere temporary interest. But Greece justly considered it as equally terrible with the invasion of Xerxes. The troops also, which came on this occasion from Asia, shew that the war was long expected. The Celtic armies might with more ease have established themselves in Greece, than in Galatia. But they evidently wished to settle finally in Asia Minor, possibly because that country had been their original source. Their only object in Greece, was, in their passage, to pillage the temples, particularly that of Delphi; the oracle of the pagan communities, and the centre of the civilized world; the university and bank of Greece; whose riches had attracted the cupidity of Brennus; whose wealth had been the accumulation of ages of prosperity; and which was so strongly fortified both

by art and nature, that its capture completely proves the conquest of Greece by the Gauls. The general opinion, that they failed in the attempt, is certainly unfounded. It depends on a fable invented by the Greeks, that the Gods defended Delphi, by thunder and lightning, and by earthquakes, which rolled down rocks on the columns of the enemy. This opinion is supported by Prideaux, who even imagined that the true God, who used no supernatural means in defence of his temple at Jerusalem, interfered for the protection of a false religion. If, therefore, the Gauls were only prevented by thunder, lightning, and earthquakes, the fair inference is, that they pillaged the temple of Delphi. A fleet of the Gauls passed at the same time into Asia; and, whether it came from the coasts of Celtica, or was built in Greece, or consisted of Grecian shipping, it confirms the utter subjection of the Greeks, and consequently, the immense power of the Celtic empire. The fortification of the Isthmus, shews the terror of the Peloponnesians, as it would not have been necessary against hordes of naked, and undisciplined barbarians. The invasion of Italy equally attained its objects, the pillage of Etruria, and of Rome, and the other Grecian cities on the coast, and the settlement of colonies in the peninsula. The British chronicles, which are confirmed by the Greek writers, give a more consistent account of this event, than the Roman histories, which are ridiculous

and improbable. The entrance of the army into Rome without even shutting the gates of the city, the old men devoted to death, clothed in triumphal garments and seated in ivory chairs, and the intervention of Camillus, at the exact moment when the gold was weighed, deserve to be recorded with the self-devotion of Curtius. The actual payment of tribute is confirmed by many testimonies, and the severity of its exaction, as part of it was composed of the gold ornaments of the Roman matrons. The time too required, for a loan, or contribution from Massilia, tends also to disprove the common account. Another circumstance confirms the subjugation of Italy. The Gauls sent an embassy to Dionysius, promising to assist him in subduing Magna Græcia, or rather solicited his alliance for the promotion of their own views. They expelled the Tuscans, who subsequently colonized the Alps. But the Tuscans were originally Greeks, and of ancient undoubted refinement, and from them a stream of civilization must have pervaded Germany and Gaul. The British chronicles furnish a strong proof of their veracity, in the alterations of names, which a forger would have been most careful to retain.

Cæsar informs us, that in almost all former wars, the Britons had assisted the Gauls against the Romans. This assertion has generally been considered as a mere pretence for the invasion of Britain; and the many important conclusions deducible

from it have been overlooked. That the Britons formed a part of this expedition, is probable from the words of Virgil, describing the milk-white necks of these invaders; whose embroidered, and slashed garments, of Tyrian, or native scarlet, and gold chains, shewed the highest degree of wealth, and refinement. Britain, from its insular situation, and extensive line of coast, must, as at this time, have far exceeded the Continent in commercial pursuits; and policy, as in modern instances, may easily have led her to join in all Continental wars. For, wealth, by inciting and gratifying ambition, must, in all ages, instead of producing content, have urged its possessors to further enterprises. The subjugation of Britain, partly from retaliation, partly with a view to the advantages, derivable from the occupation of the largest and richest island in the known world, appears to have been the main end of the campaign of Cæsar. His failure in the attempt was attended with unparalleled disasters, which caused him to evacuate Gaul, and to make Rome tributary. These considerations make it probable, that, according to the chronicles, not only Britain was the prime mover of this enterprise, but that Brennus was a Briton. Belinus and Brennus were the sons of that Dunwallo Malmutius, who had first the sovereignty of the whole island, and who framed that code of laws, which now probably makes a part of the common law of England: These brothers, unless the chronicles are forgeries,

having in alliance with the Allobroges, conquered Gaul; planned that mighty enterprise; which, after over-running Italy, and burning Rome, passed thro' the kingdoms to the north of the Adriatic, subdued Greece, and settled colonies in Asia Minor; where their influence extended from the shores of the Black Sea to Mount Taurus. These events naturally made a deep impression on the minds of the Romans, who were less terrified, even by the dreadful African; when he devastated, and nearly destroyed Italy. A Gallic war, was distinguished from all others, by a term, expressive of confusion and dismay, peculiarly appropriated to it. Preparations of an unusual and alarming nature, announced a Celtic invasion. Armies were levied without regard to the usual pleas of exemption. Priests served in person in the legions, and the artists, necessary for the comfort, and prosperity of a metropolis, were also enrolled. Every hostile movement of the Celtic nations, spread dismay from the Alps, to the extremity of Italy. With Gaul the Romans contended not for glory, but existence. The Gauls, who in time of peace, traversed Italy, and settled in Rome; influenced the legal decisions of the Romans; and insulted them, even in their very forum, by threats of war. If they had learned by experience, that these intimations were effectual, Rome must have been, in a certain degree, in subjection to them. In war, their power was most formidable. Consular ar-

mies, that is, armies of twenty or thirty thousand men, had often been entirely destroyed; and Italy, in consequence, brought to the brink of destruction. The ultimate events were favorable to the Roman empire; writers have therefore dismissed from their minds, the perils to which it was exposed, and the long and fearful struggle of the Gauls, and Britons, against Rome, in other words, against the power of the whole world. They forget the consternation spread thro' Italy, by the nearly successful expedition of the Cimbri, when they were opposed by Marius; and the otherwise inexplicable trepidation of Augustus, at the loss of Varus, and his legions. They forget that the Cimbri had more frequently given the alarm to Rome, than either the Samnite, the Carthaginian, or the Parthian; that these warlike nations were more triumphed over than conquered; and that the safety of the empire, less depended on the Roman arms, than on the discord which prevailed among the Celtic nations. The Romans thought it sufficient, for a long time, to repel the Gauls, without invading their country. They acknowledged, that, if providence had not interposed the Alps, Italy could never have withstood them, nor have attained the supreme dominion. Before Pontinius, the passes only, of the Alps, were occupied. Even Marius repressed invasion, without any offensive warfare against the Celtic nations. Pontinius, governor of the province of Narbo, when invaded and laid

waste by the Allobroges, subdued them, but having freed Rome from the terror of invasion, attempted nothing more. With respect to the Gauls, therefore, the usual rage for conquest was suspended. According to Cicero, the Romans only possessed a mere road thro' Gaul, the other parts being occupied by nations, of a fierce and warlike character, decidedly hostile to the Romans. From the beginning of the Roman dominion, Gaul was dreaded above all other nations, tho' its populousness, and power, prevented the possibility of reducing it.

The wars in Gaul, are generally considered as a kind of episode in the Roman history, carried on among barbarous, and almost unknown nations, for the private ambition of Cæsar, and not as events intimately affecting the prosperity, and even the existence, of the Roman empire. But tho' the Romans had, till this period, been prevented, by various causes, from the invasion of Gaul, and Britain, it had uniformly been their policy to repress, and destroy the Celtic empire, their most dangerous enemy, and ready at all times, to pour into Italy, hosts of active and brave warriors. Before the time of Cæsar, the Romans only carried on a defensive warfare; but the profound peace which followed the destruction of the immense power of the Cilicians, which, under the opprobrious name of piracy, has been condemned without cause to neglect, and infamy, induced the Romans to turn the whole power of the empire in the direction

of Gaul. Naval power, is of slow growth, is confined to particular spots, and cannot increase in obscurity. Unlike a military force, which can be dispersed and re-assembled at pleasure, a naval power is always visible, and from its intercourse with other nations, is universally known. But of the gradual increase of this power, the Roman history is silent, till the formidable preparations of Pompey, disclosed the extent of the forces opposed to him. The Cilicians were able to contest with the Romans, the empire of the world. They had the command of the sea for a long time, and made many successful descents on Italy, Syria, Pamphilia, Cyprus, and Pontus. The armies of Rome were destroyed in obscure warfare, their fleets conquered; the allies harrassed, the commerce of Italy interrupted; and, the importation of corn being prevented, the Roman territories suffered from famine. The slight mention, therefore, of a power which brought the Romans to the brink of destruction, proves that they would scruple no falsity as to the wars in Gaul, and Britain, and that a contemptuous mention of other nations, is no evidence of their political non-existence, or want of power.

The invasion of Gaul being an essential part of the policy of the Romans, and certainly not the caprice of an individual, it must have been most desirable to subdue Britain also, as the best means of checking the aggression of the Celtic nations.

The conquest of Britain, was the grand object of Julius Cæsar, and of the succeeding emperors, who, more in consequence of the disunion of the natives, than their own exertions, obtained a precarious, military possession of the island. Many accounts, as that of Cotta, of the first expeditions to Britain, must have been suppressed by the government; and the total silence of all contemporaries, considering how interesting the expeditions were to Rome, very much discredits the narrative of Cæsar. The only authority allowed by modern writers, is a piece of auto-biography, where private feelings so naturally led to the concealment, and perversion of truth, that when contradicted by extraneous testimony, the most specious statements may be doubted. There is no reason to prefer to native histories, the statements of a foreign invader, published in a distant country, where his absolute power would prevent the open exposure of falsehood; while the British chronicles were perpetually liable to detection, and contradiction. As, by the principles of Cæsar, justice might be violated for a kingdom; military fame, which, like dominion, makes its possession conspicuous, might well be purchased by falsehood. A similar spirit influenced the Roman government, to conceal the disasters of its armies, and to appear to limit dominion, rather by choice than necessity. The invasion of Britain, has generally been regarded, as an unprincipled attempt to gratify the supposed

ambition of the Romans. But it was partly for retaliation, and partly to weaken, as much as possible, the power of the Celts; which, with a high degree of civilization, existed many ages before the founding of Massilia; an event of great importance to the Celts, tho' by no means the origin of their civilization. Massilia, however, was highly useful in forming an additional connecting link, between Britain, Greece, the states of Asia Minor, and Rome, with which, from its origin, Massilia was most intimately connected. The commercial enterprise of Massilia, founded Tolosa, and Burdigala, as depots of merchandize, and the most convenient channels of communication, between the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, which was chiefly carried on by river navigation, an important feature in the commerce of the ancients. The Garonne was one of the regular channels of trade, between Britain and the Continent, and by this, tin, and other metals, were conveyed to the Mediterranean. In return, a regular wine and oil trade, subsisted between Narbo, and Tolosa, from which city there was a constant communication with Burdigala. Thus, the trade of Italy and Massilia, in effect, the commerce of the East, and of Africa, accumulated at Burdigala, a port known by the best authority to have communicated with Britain. The literature of Greece, and Rome, travelled with their commerce, or rather, made a part of it. Professors of literature, and philosophy, regularly settled in

foreign countries, both for profit and information. The writers of antiquity, looked to this extension of their fame, as the just reward of their labours. Horace, could not have anticipated that his poems would have been read, from the extremity of the Black Sea to Spain, if the literature of Rome had not travelled with her commerce. The splendid writings of Greece and Rome, which have survived their respective empires; and seen fresh nations successively rise, and fall into oblivion; must, when the languages were living, have been propagated into the most remote parts of the earth. The universality of the Greek learning, must, necessarily, have been promoted by previous civilization; for nations of savages could not receive the literature of a polished nation.

If the founding of Massilia was not the commencement of Gallie civilization, that colony was of immense importance, both to Gaul, and Britain, by bringing them still more in contact with Greece, and Rome, and diffusing the knowledge of their architecture. The general architecture of Gaul, and Britain, was undoubtedly Phœnician; but the Grecian orders were also known, either introduced directly by the Athenians, or thro' the medium of Massilia. There is a curious document in the life of Agricola, by his son-in-law Tacitus, a work which has unfairly elevated the subject of it above his proper rank, which proves that Grecian architecture existed in Britain at a very early period;

tho' the way in which he accounts for it, is in the highest degree improbable. He pretends, that Agricola, who in fact behaved more like an allied general, than a conqueror, for the purpose of rendering the Britons averse from war, advised them privately, and assisted them in public, in building temples, forums, and other edifices, to which, of their own accord, they added porticos, and baths, and elegant private entertainments. It is evident that it would be impossible, to press such improvements on a poor nation, or to make them acceptable to a rude and dispersed people, little inclined to listen to the suggestions of a conqueror. A nation totally savage, must be led into these indulgences, thro' many steps, each inferring a degree of wealth, and refinement, inconsistent with barbarism. Temples, and forums, could only have been erected in cities previously existing; and porticos, and baths, indicate a degree of luxurious indulgence, far removed from poverty and barbarism. Elegant entertainments, besides the ample means they require, imply the life of cities. Besides the improbably sudden conversion of a whole people from a savage state, to extreme civilization; the process of building temples, forums, porticos, and baths, with the most lavish expenditure, is extremely slow; so that, allowing the smallest possible time for the conversion of a people from barbarism, very little progress could have been made in the life-time of an individual. All these

kinds of architecture, therefore, derived from the Greeks, when they were a free people, must have existed before the time of Agricola, and had probably been erected before Cæsar's invasion of Britain. If it be objected, that no remains of these supposed buildings are in existence; it may be answered, that all the edifices erected at the suggestion of Agricola, have also disappeared: and, that sand stone, the probable material, is not adapted in this climate for long duration. A nation, abounding in cattle, and corn; rich in mines of lead, iron, and tin; a convertible wealth, which would set the Britons far above the common nomad tribes, and in direct communication with countries eminent for architecture, must early have embraced an art, so conducive to comfort and security, so adapted, in one shape or other, to the taste of every individual. Architecture, both Grecian, and that commonly called Gothic, but which is properly Phœnician, originated in the East. The Phœnicians, and their colonies, were famous for their skill in working in wood. The buildings in the interior of their cities, were wooden structures erected on foundations of stone, a mode of building which necessity would point out to the most inobservant, as in no other manner, could the timbers be preserved from decay. In the early buildings at Jerusalem, may be observed the germs, both of Grecian and Phœnician architecture. The house of the forest of Lebanon, has been remarked as

giving the proportions of the Grecian temple, but it has escaped notice, that the inner temple was, as certainly, the prototype of the architecture, commonly called Gothic. The reason is, that the measurement of the porch is mentioned separately, the length and breadth in one part of the volume, the height alone in another part. It has, in consequence, been overlooked, that the porch was, precisely, a tower rising 135 feet above the nave. This gives the exact proportion of a church, with a nave and a tower. The addition of an elevated roof, gradually increasing in height, by the ambition of successive architects, formed the modern spire. The nave was lighted by narrow windows, opposite each other, as in the modern cathedral. This building was the model of the ancient British temples, which in the same locality, and form, with the substitution of stone for wood, and the religion of Christ, for the idolatrous worship of the Athenians, have descended to the present day. The crucial form of our Cathedrals, is inseparable from the nature of buildings erected on this principle, and, if intended, would have been imitated in every church; and in the country, from the simplicity of the structure, with greater accuracy of resemblance. The first form of public buildings in the East, was a large hall, whose proportions were limited, the length being three times the breadth, and the height half of the length. Then the porch was added, of a lofty and tapering form, as being

ornamental, and, at the same time, proper for astronomical purposes. As the nave, with regard to proportion, could not be indefinitely extended, enlargements would be made by similar halls, leading from the other sides of the tower, and thus the structure would, without design, assume the crucial form. This, without more direct evidence, would not determine, with respect to the christian era, the date of its invention. The excess of space, which, tho' it induced catholic processions, was not intended for them, was probably occupied by courts of justice, and the public palace of the sovereign. The Jewish architecture, and decorations, were evidently copied from the Phœnician; but the Phœnician style was brought to Britain, therefore, the Jewish architecture, with the necessary modifications required by climate, would be a complete picture of the British. But nothing is more remarkable, in the public buildings of Jerusalem, than the infinity of brass ornaments, the work of Phœnician artists. The art, therefore, of casting metals, known to have been practised by the Britons, in very ancient times, as it would naturally be learned from the Phœnicians, must have flourished in Britain before the invasion of Cæsar. The Britons at that period imported brass, no doubt merely from the mines in Cornwall, in sufficient quantity to attract the notice of a foreign observer. It must have been applied to the casting of various ornaments, and of statues, an-

cient specimens of which, have been discovered at Bath. It is said, but without foundation, that the Britons learned the art of casting metals from the Romans. But Virgil, disclaims for them almost every art; yields the palm of astronomy to the Egyptians, and Chaldæans: and confesses that others, probably the Greeks, and Phœnicians, excelled his countrymen in metallic statuary. The habits of military life are adverse to instruction of any kind; particularly in an operose, and complex art, which demands a fixed residence, quiet, unbroken leisure, and expensive apparatus. If the supposition be granted, we must presume an accumulation of metal, as if fated for this very purpose. But statues, are not the objects of desire to a savage people, and they require for their exhibition, temples, villas, and ornamental gardens. Such luxuries are the superstructure of civilization, which must have long commenced before their introduction. The Tyrians, were doubtless their instructors, who, in addition to their ancient skill, easily acquired any improvements, which Greece might have made in the art.

The supposed rude dwellings of the ancient Britons, are often adduced as arguments of their want of civilization. For, the greater part of modern nations, accustomed to houses of brick or stone, imagine that habitations of wood are indicative of barbarism. But the material is peculiarly susceptible of ornament. The cottages of the Alps

exemplify it, whose projecting roofs, and light pendent galleries, inimitable in stone, unless by the most laborious process, harmonise with the scenery, as if, like the rocks, and woods, they had come fresh from the hands of the Creator. If the houses of a simple peasantry, are thus beautiful, how much more must the palaces of kings, and the temples of the Gods, in a great agricultural and commercial nation, have exceeded in ornament. If the original material of building had been stone, architecture, as an elegant art, would have been entirely unknown. It is by the imitation of structures in wood, in which fancy, and caprice, might easily indulge in ornament, that the stone fabric acquired its decorations. This is obvious, from the florid Phœnician style, in the ceiling of King Henry the seventh's chapel, at Westminster, which is plainly modelled from works in wood, executed originally by Phœnician artists. It was ambition, of a daring, but lavish character, which tempted the architect to rival in stone, those pendent, and complex ornaments, resembling, perhaps, the lacunaria of the Romans, and of general use among the nations of antiquity. Similar ceilings when painted, gilt, or inlaid with ivory, as indicated by the immense quantities of ivory taken by Scipio at Carthage, probably prevailed among the western nations. Gold, and ivory, used in conjunction, were employed in ornament, by the most luxurious people of the East; and these commodities formed

part of the merchandize paid by the Phœnicians, for the tin, lead, and brass, of Britain, and were doubtless used in internal decorations. This was the style of ornament in Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Egypt, countries intimately connected with ancient Britain. Arabia, the parent of Phœnicia, indulged in these expensive luxuries. The doors, walls, and ceilings of her palaces, were adorned with ivory and gold, as the sacred writers describe the buildings of Jerusalem. The projecting and pendent parts, were, no doubt, particularly adorned. The extreme splendour of the palaces in the Burman empire, whose interior displays one blaze of gilding, fully supports the statement of the ancient glory of Arabia. Similar advantages, with the addition of oil colours, with which the Celtic nations, as appears from the custom of painting their shields, were acquainted, enabled them to build houses of great beauty, and magnificence. The German custom of painting various subjects on the fronts of houses, is of remote antiquity; and may be referred to this period. Suppositions like these are absolutely necessary, to account for the beauty of Avaricum, a city of Gaul, which influenced the general council to exempt it from burning; at a great risk, and eventually, a great injury to the nation. But the British edifices, a word of too great extension to be applied to the huts of Rapin, resembled those of Gaul; therefore, it may be inferred that cities, not inferior to Avaricum, existed in

Britain. When it is considered, that, in the least civilized parts of the island, corn was threshed in large barns; and that the operations of smelting, and manufacturing metals, require ample space; it is impossible to acquiesce in the miserable, and contracted habitations, assigned by Rapin to the ancient Britons. The accommodations of the lowest individuals of a nation, arising from their poverty, and not from their want of ingenuity, can never be assumed as the scale of the buildings of a people, living in a wooded country, acquainted with the use of iron, highly commercial and agricultural, and abounding in gold and silver.

It is impossible that a country amply supplied with wood, and iron, and in connection with nations eminent for architecture, should have wanted comfortable and elegant dwellings. Building, is one of those progressive arts, in which mankind are perpetually instructed by the great masters, necessity, and experience. To erect a mere defence against the weather, is a problem easily executed, but the want of room would, after repeated failures, lead to structures, not merely convenient, but, as our wishes extend with their gratification, beautiful, and magnificent. The tree in its natural state, formed the column of early buildings, as in the tent of Abraham, under the oak of Mamre; and in the bridal chamber of Ulysses. A circular wall round this column, joined in supporting the timbers of the roof; thus accounting for the form

of ancient structures, spiral staircases, and the dome-like houses of the Gauls; and, ultimately, for the Tholus of the Greeks, and even the Pantheon of Rome. The coolness of our cathedrals; and the projecting stories of the most ancient wooden houses, admirably qualified for throwing the greatest possible shade, on the narrow street below; clearly indicate an eastern origin. The existence of cathedrals in wood, being a subject of historical record, not of conjecture; a British town must have consisted of such projecting houses, as even now remain in ancient cities; with public buildings in wood, of Phœnician architecture. The walls of their towns were, probably, like those of the Gauls, composed of wood and stone. But the Celtic towns were not constructed solely of wood; for, Dion Cassius says, that part of Solonium was built of wood, consequently the remainder consisted of brick or stone. But Ravenna, and even ancient Rome, were built of wood; such dwellings, therefore, are not a decided proof of barbarism. If nothing had been recorded of the reign of Elizabeth, but the wooden houses of the inhabitants, and their use of rushes for carpets; it would be impossible to infer, the high literary refinement, and scientific attainments, of that age.

The buildings of the ancient Briton are not, necessarily, restricted to the scale of any modern erections: for, the noblest works of antiquity, whose very ruins have arrested the course of in-

vading armies, were directly, or indirectly, accessible to the Britons; and, if they wanted granite, and marble, the materials of durable structures; yet, from analogy, the peculiar form of buildings, whose models were undoubtedly of wood; from the chronicles, and the evidence of Cæsar himself; it may be inferred, that Britain abounded with buildings, large, magnificent, and worthy of a great, and civilized nation. With the use of horn, the specular stone, or even lattices of rifted oak, for windows; drapery from Tyre, and linen from Egypt; the curtains, and embroidered pillows of Carthage; couches, adorned with gold and ivory, and purple garments of needle work, the exports of Asia Minor; every comfort or even elegance of life might be attained. Even the use of brass, which is purely ornamental, proves that the houses of the Britons, must have been supplied with a variety of elegant furniture. The situation of their towns, in the midst of woods, does not, even contingently, imply any rudeness of construction. Woods, were the quarries of the ancient Britons, and a belt of wood would be the best defence, against the cavalry, and chariots, of an enemy. To suppose that the Britons derived no advantage, from the acknowledged visits of the Phœnicians, and the Greeks, is to suppose a state of society which never could have existed. It is impossible, also, to conclude that these enterprising nations, of known eagerness for the extension of commerce; and the acquisition

of geographical knowledge, and of science in general; should have frequented the island, century after century, without exploring the whole of the interior. That the Greeks resided for a considerable time in Britain, is evident, from the observation of Lucretius, an observation drawn from Greek sources, that health suffered from the climate, which could not be the effect of a transient visit. Even the occasional residents must have continued a considerable time, as is evident, from their requiring, in foreign countries, altars for their national worship; and they probably wintered in distant countries, to allow time for commercial transactions, and to avoid the danger of the seas. It is impossible that the Britons should have looked on these interesting strangers, with an incurious eye; without a wish to imitate their shipping; their dress; their manners; to acquire their language; and to visit their distant, and unknown, countries. Surely, the migratory spirit of Britons, which has been active for so many centuries, was not then dormant. As Eratosthenes, Posidonius, and other Greeks, explored the Celtic nations: so Divitiacus, and, doubtless, other eminent men, of Gaul, and Britain, travelled to Rome. The guest and friend of Cicero, must have been remarkable for elegance, and refinement, and also for the dignity of his personal character; as Cæsar thinks it sufficient, to designate Dumnorix as the brother of Divitiacus. The embassy of the

Britons to Cato, mentioned so slightly by Nicephorus, as cited in the second volume of the Vatican collection, that there can be no suspicion of falsehood, implies a constant communication, and direct commercial intercourse between Britain and Rome. This anecdote, also, explains the supposed magnificent patronage of foreign nations, by individual Romans; who, in fact, acted merely as consuls, for the protection, and extension of their commerce; like the officers, recommended by Xenophon to the Athenians. This office, required trouble, and, as appears by the money offered to Cato, tho' declined by him, was probably rewarded by an annual salary, or equivalent presents. The existence, and resources, of Britain, must, therefore, have been known to the Romans, at a very early period; and their wealth was the motive of all the invasions. Julius Cæsar, by stating the affairs of the Morini as trivial, compared with Britain, tho' the merchants wished to keep him in ignorance, must have had an adequate idea of the value of the island. This knowledge infers a regular and mutual intercourse; and, doubtless, as Cato protected the British merchant in Rome; counterparts existed in Britain; whose leading men, were, in a similar manner, patrons to the Romans. The relations between foreign states, however disguised by specious names, must have been intrinsically the same in all ages. The British presents in the Capitol, are also evidences of mutual communica-

and must have been merely the return, for equal gifts to allied nations. According to the common account, or the historical part of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, which has many internal marks of truth, there was no necessity for tokens of subjection. They are, besides, arguments of a high degree of civilization: for no presents, except of the most splendid kind, both for materials and workmanship, could have been admitted into the Capitol, among the gold crowns; the rich cabinets, adorned with pearls; and candelabra, set with precious stones; the gifts, of monarchs, free cities, and opulent individuals. The critical and refined citizens of Rome, would have rejected with scorn, any offering, which the supposed barbarians of Britain could have presented. The restoration and decoration of the Capitol, the favorite object of the Romans, and promoted by all nations at peace with her, shew her extended influence, and intercourse with all the world. All great capitals necessarily attract visitors, from the most distant regions; and prevent the utter seclusion essential to barbarism; which could never have existed among the great families of Europe. Athens, was a city of strangers; at Rome, a particular magistrate presided over them; and the courts of the temple of the exclusive Jerusalem, were thronged by foreign merchants, and her streets infested by the courtesans of Tyre.

They, who suppose the commercial visits of the

Phœnicians, and Greeks, to Britain, entirely nugatory in their effects, have not considered the length of time required for a trading voyage, and for the necessary residence of commercial agents; unless, in defiance of all the principles of trade, the Phœnicians paid in coin for all the British goods, and even then, the usual consequences of an influx of money, would have followed in Britain. The operations of ancient traffic, as may be learned from the comic drama, generally required, from one to three years. That the Phœnician ships were guided by the usual rules of commerce, is evident from their early trading voyage to Argos, with Assyrian and Egyptian merchandize. Articles of attractive luxury, composed of gold and amber; wines; crimson cloth; the perfumes, and spices of the East; and the manufactured goods, of Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, Assyria, and the East Indies; were most assuredly brought to Britain; and exchanged for the produce of the North of Europe, for native manufactures, and for metals. Iron was probably exported, in the shape of tools, and cutlery; for this manufacture has existed from time immemorial, as the natural consequence of working the mines. Instruments of steel, which, tho' known by the name Gallic, were probably of British workmanship, were highly prized at Rome. It could not have been the interest of the Phœnicians, to have kept Britain in a state of barbarism; but, by introducing a luxurious civilization, to

have encouraged the consumption of their manufactures, and merchandize. Without an adequate return, the Britons would not have submitted to the tedious, and laborious, employment, of mining; in which, too, a knowledge of mechanics, and chemistry, is absolutely necessary. The smelting, also, of iron, and its conversion into steel, requiring furnaces of brick, and vessels of pottery, imply the existence of two trades, most conducive to civilization; and, as the art of mining, infers the less complex process of quarrying; stone and slate must have been familiarly known: in addition, therefore, to the necessary foundations, the roofs were of course covered with durable materials, and thus differed but little, essentially, from the buildings of any subsequent age. If King Henry the seventh's chapel had been built of wood, and had perished, we should have disregarded entirely the trifling memorials of its existence. Yet buildings in wood, the original prototypes of that elegant structure, whose every part plainly refers to models in wood, of equal extent; for the words of Cæsar, can only relate to large public buildings; and of equal magnificence, as for ages, intellect, and genius, must have been engaged in their construction; existed before the first Roman invasion of Britain. They nearly resembled the public buildings of the Gauls, whose architecture must have been highly advanced, by the example, and precepts, of the Greek cities, on their southern

coast. The words of Cæsar, imply that they were almost exactly alike, and contain not the slightest intimation of inferiority. If the operations of mining were conducted by the Britons, their civilization is nearly proved; or, if by the Phœnicians, they must have resided for a long time in Britain, and have colonized the country. On either supposition, consequences of the utmost importance must have resulted to the inhabitants. The metals could not have been exchanged for gold, or merchandize, in total silence, and with that entire absence of effect, which is assumed by the advocates for the early barbarism of Britain. But the Britons, who offered so gallant a resistance, to Cæsar, would not have suffered the Phœnicians, who only came as merchants, to have the exclusive enjoyment of their mines. It is most natural to conclude, that they were worked by the natives, and they must have produced an immense revenue, sufficient to absorb a full share of the commerce of the world. But the western nations, were not merely passive in regard to the introduction of Tyrian goods, but actually exported in their own ships, iron, tin, and lead, the staple commodities of the Celtic nations; which they sold, or exchanged at the fairs of Tyre. The west of Spain took the most prominent part in these transactions, but the metals were probably brought to Spain, by the shipping of the Britons, and the Veneti. The ships of the Veneti, tho' evidently constructed

for the North seas, most probably entered the Mediterranean, and traded with Carthage, if not with Tyre. From the most early times, the spar-tan from Spain, and pitch, and hemp from Gaul, were conveyed to Greece, Egypt, and Asia Minor. These latter articles being the produce of the Baltic, so regular a communication must have been maintained with all the Celtic nations, that their entire concealment from the old world, so essential to the common theory, cannot with reason be maintained. Thus the East, and the West, mutually stimulated the industry and cupidity of each other; for commerce is always reciprocal, and can never be gratuitous. Not a single bale of goods, travels along the roads, or passes the sea, but for the purpose of barter or sale; therefore, where there is an influx of trade, the reflux is self-evident, and indicates an advanced state of agriculture, and manufactures. The trade of Britain extended to the Baltic, and to the remotest parts of the North of Europe; and flowed in a continual stream, thro' Gaul, and Germany. A strong reaction must have occurred, and the fleets of the Suiones, a powerful maritime state on the Baltic, must have passed the Sound to Britain, laden with furs, pitch, tar, resin, hemp, and other productions of the North. The communication of Britain, thro' Gaul, with the Mediterranean, was so various, and so regular, as completely to negative the assertion respecting the barbarism of Britain. The

Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, furnished the means of incessant intercourse. The Garonne was most closely connected with the Mediterranean. The merchandize, also, of the Mediterranean, was conveyed up the Rhone, the Saone, and the Doube; passed by land to the Seine, and was thence forwarded to the ocean and to Britain. The Rhine conveyed to Britain the produce of Germany. Thus the materials of national wealth, existed in the greatest abundance. Many consequences necessarily result from extensive land, and sea carriage, such as the establishment of inns, with relays of horses; warehouses, and towns, at convenient intervals; and probably, as in the East, a regular post. Commerce created the splendid city of Tolosa, the depot for embarkation on the Garonne; Burdigala, which chiefly depended on foreign trade, and opposite to the several channels of communication, gave birth to corresponding cities in Britain. This immense influx of merchandize, could not have been absorbed by a nation of barbarians. Civilization, is necessary for the consumption, and payment, of the various commodities of commerce; which, from the Mediterranean, consisted of articles of luxury, wine, oil, and manufactured goods. The goods imported, according to Strabo, were merely ivory ornaments for their bridles; expensive, when highly finished; and certainly indicative of a minute attention to the cavalry; necklaces, and glass vessels;

objects of luxury, which at least shew that the necessaries of life existed in abundance. But, as an expensive land, and water communication, could not have been sustained by the produce of such trifles, it is necessary to add, the manufactures, and the merchandize of the East; with wine and oil, the peculiar exports of Italy. The trifling nature of the imports, was probably the reason, assigned by the Romans, for the small income derived from Britain, or rather, for the total want of revenue from that quarter, and the complete neglect of the island by the Roman government. It appears that the island, would not bear duties sufficient to defray the expenses of collection, which, besides, would have been attended with danger. These are reasons assigned by Strabo, on conjecture merely, for the island was never occupied by the Romans in his time. But they are disproved by subsequent events, and by the positive assertion of Tacitus, that Britain abounded in gold and silver, enough to compensate the expenses and trouble of conquest. This gold, and silver, must mean, not specie, which might easily be secreted, but a revenue arising from tangible, well-defined, sources of national wealth. In plain language, the Britons, in the age of Augustus, were able to defy the whole power of the Roman empire. These circumstances, explain the contradictory expressions of the two court poets, for while Horace dwells on the intended invasion of

Britain, as on a subject pleasing to the Emperor, and anticipates the procession in triumph of the chained Briton, thro' the Via sacra; Virgil cuts off Britain entirely from the world, and represents the Morini, as, in that direction, the most remote of mankind. The anticipations of triumph, therefore, were written before the invasion by Augustus; and total oblivion was thrown over this Country after the attempt had failed.

If the foreign trade of Britain, as may be with justice assumed, existed on the largest scale, it is a fair inference, that their domestic accommodations, their dress, their amusements, among which is to be reckoned the expensive luxury of the chase, hounds being a regular export, corresponded with it. The dress of the ancient Briton, as it must have closely resembled the fashion of the Gauls, no difference being remarked by Cæsar, was most magnificent. The Celtic nations indulged in the Eastern fashion of wearing embroidery, gold bracelets and chains, tunics, and cloaks of various colours, adapted, in texture, to the different seasons of the year. Their armour was painted, and inlaid with gold. The dress of part of the Celtic nations, differed but little from that of the modern Frank. The garments of the men fitted close to the body; and the women wore linen dresses, varied with scarlet; the fore arm, the shoulders, and part of the breast, being bare. Shoes, of which there was an infinite variety, among the nations of antiquity, and some

of barbaric origin, could not have been unknown to the Britons. If it be concluded, that the name of the Picts referred solely to the colour of their garments, it may be inferred, that, as the funerals of the Celts were sumptuous and magnificent, they enjoyed in life all the luxuries of dress and diet. The present dress of the Judges; the furs of the North, and scarlet, was probably the civil costume of the ancient British nobleman. The full dresses of the highest graduates in our universities, are also, most likely, the remains of a Celtic fashion. It is most probable, that the British nobleman presided over courts of justice, in the full dress of the time; which, law or custom having sanctioned, became fixed; while the ordinary dress of the nation, varied from the loose robe to the cloak; and at length degenerated into the present fashion. The importation of fur, and Tyrian cloth, and the dye, with which the Transalpine nations imitated scarlet, and all other kinds of colours, make this supposition extremely probable. The most valuable furs were doubtless appropriated, by sumptuary laws, to kings and nobles, and as distinctive marks of rank, are of Northern origin.

The use of skins and furs, is by no means indicative of barbarism. The skins of fawns, and foxes, were worn by the initiated in the mysteries of Bacchus. The dress, of Paris the beau of the *Iliad*, and of the ideal companions of Venus in the *Æneid*, was also of skin. The Britons are generally sup-

posed, from a passage in the interpolator of Cæsar, to have been clothed with the skins of domestic animals; but the Germans, who could have had no advantage unknown to the Britons, procured furs from the Frozen ocean, and the White sea. The words, therefore, only establish the use of furs; linen was known to the Germans, and much more to the Britons, from the East. In the article of dress, therefore, nothing stamps the Briton with the character of barbarism.

The stigmata of the Britons, have been assumed as marks of a deficiency in civilization, tho' the Roman soldier himself, the reputed introducer of refinement, was tatoood to prevent desertion. In agriculture, the Britons, instructed by the Tyrians and Carthaginians, could not have been inferior to any nation of the ancient world. Nor is there any reason why they should yield to modern art. Agriculture, was cherished by sovereigns, and philosophers; it was esteemed honorable, it was felt to be the happiest employment. Even the instances of affectation recorded in ancient history shew its general estimation. The regular inspection of the country by the Eastern governments, and the rewards attached to successful practice, must have promoted the uniformity, and advancement of the science. The fact, that thirty thousand men foraged in a small part of the county of Kent, shews how amply the Britons had long profited by the instructions they received. The value of land,

a proof of profitable occupation, is evident from its minute subdivisions among the Celtic nations; and as the dimensions of the squares into which it was divided, are expressly said to have been of different proportions in cities, their extreme antiquity for public meetings, and architectural display, is clearly proved. Agriculture, necessarily requires the protection of law, and of military force; and, its basis being fixed property, it generates the most difficult parts of the laws of consanguinity, inheritance, and wills. If entailed, it naturally produces an aristocracy. Agriculture could not be confined to the raising of corn, but extended to the cultivation of the turnip, which was well known in Gaul; and the beet, whose leaves are ranked, by Hippocrates, among pot-herbs. Horticulture, both for esculents and flowers, as the nations of the East were proverbially attached to it, must have flourished in Britain. The existence of gardens, under which name were formerly comprehended the orchard, and vineyard, in addition to the modern meaning of the term, is evident, from the description of Britain by Diodorus. Parks, like those of the East, adorned with flowers, and planted with stately trees; often including collections of exotics, as refined and innocent luxuries; and for scientific purposes; and carefully enclosed for the confinement of animals; are also mentioned by him, as existing in Britain. Of these splendid establishments, the

the Roman hare-warren was only a humble imitation; yet its great expense, as covers and woods were surrounded with a high wall, for the exclusion of noxious animals, necessarily confined it to persons of property. In the British parks, which were intersected with streams of water; ponds, and separate enclosures, were made for aquatic fowls. It is evident that the breeding of hares, and geese, as a source of amusement, must have been managed in this manner, and must, of course, have been appropriated to people of the higher orders. The descriptions of Diodorus, form a just and lively commentary to the meagre account of the interperator of Cæsar, and indicate a state of society, where the luxury of cultivation, necessarily includes every meaner process of agriculture, as it can only be the offspring of a mind revelling in superfluities. Thus, the British mode of life, resembles those glimpses of rural enjoyment, which charm the reader of the ancient poets. If it be recollected that the cultivation of the ground, and pasturage, in their widest extent, ministering not only to necessity, but to caprice, and fashion, flourished in all their refinements, in Egypt, in the East, in Italy, and transalpine Gaul; it will require the most positive, and unbiassed testimony, to exclude them from ancient Britain. Tillage, on a large scale, as it plainly existed in Britain at the time of Cæsar, infers the population of cities, and numerous classes of productive, and unpro-

ductive labourers, for the surplus corn must have been exchanged, for articles of luxury and convenience. The Druid, supported by tithes, (for, as an institution of this kind must have preceded the full appropriation of the land, it must have been established by the earliest colonies,) the landowner, the lawyer, the medical practitioner, the manufacturer, the artist whose labours tended only to mere amusement, of all which, there are traces among the Celtic nations, must have been supported partly by right, partly by the recompense of their respective arts, and must have given the necessary stimulus to agriculture. The great scale of agriculture, and the immense multitudes mentioned by Cæsar, mutually corroborate the existence of each other. The ancient prosperity also, and population of the Celtic nations, is evident from a speech of Alcibiades; mentioning, that the Athenians intended to recruit their army from the nations beyond Spain; and to procure supplies of corn from them. The power and resources of the Celtic nations, must, therefore, have been universally acknowledged.

But it may be said, that the Britons, however rich, and powerful, must have wanted the highest refinement, the cultivation of the mind. But if they lived when the human intellect was most successfully cultivated, if they studied the Greek and Latin as living languages, with the certainty of solving every difficulty, and learning the particulars of every allusion, there is no reason for doubt-

ing their proficiency, in literature, and science. The immense foreign trade of the Celtic nations, and the existence of literary intercourse, which would be extended to the utmost by the professional scholar, is proved by the fact, that public records, and contracts, and, of course, epistolary correspondence with foreigners, were written in the Greek language. This custom arose, not from caprice, or pleasure, but because a widely extended commerce required an universal medium. In consequence of the acknowledged intercourse of Britain with the Greeks, the higher ranks of society must have visited Athens, an university which existed before the Trojan war, and sovereigns gratified the prevailing taste by procuring her most learned professors. These suppositions, agreeable to reason, are confirmed by the chronicles. The still greater prevalence of the Latin language in Celtica, is evident from the dispatches of Cæsar, written in Greek, for the sake of secrecy; as the Latin, consequently, was generally understood. To these advantages, must be added the correctness of original manuscripts, and highly authorized copies; while the earliest now in existence have been corrupted, partly by negligence, but more by ignorant presumption, in the course of repeated transcription.

The resources, also, of the Eastern world, opened themselves to the enquiring scholar. The learning of Egypt, Cyrene, and Carthage, explained the

early antiquities of his country, which are now buried in complete darkness. There is no reason for supposing that the Druids misspent their twenty years of application, a time, thought by Blackstone, sufficient for the education of a judge; and more than sufficient for the highest degrees; in some barbarous, and worthless lore. Their studies consisted of astronomy, with its necessary train of subservient sciences; geography, which demands an extended navigation; natural history; and speculations respecting the divine nature, and the origin of the world. A scientific cultivation of astronomy, would require instruments, and observatories; for which purpose, the towers of temples were probably used. There is not the slightest intimation, that in this science, they were inferior to the Greeks, and Romans; who could predict the exact time and duration of eclipses. The doctrine of the Druids, that the soul of man was immortal, was, most likely, derived indirectly from revelation: for no human reasoning could point it out, nor does any symbol in the vegetable world, which most nearly approaches it, exactly resemble the resuscitation of our insensate and scattered ashes. The Druids must have received from the East, some more satisfactory doctrine than that of transmigration. Their traditions, that the world, tho' essentially eternal, had often been superficially destroyed by fire, and water; are so agreeable to the latest dictates of philosophy; that it is proba-

ble, geological researches, a natural result of the philosophical examination of mines, may have been prosecuted among our early ancestors. Geology infers chemistry; a science necessary to determine the operations, hidden from superficial observation, of the great agents, fire and water, in changing the face of the globe. For, it was not from tradition; the whole of these phenomena, not having fallen under human cognizance, nor having been objects of revelation; but from comparing them with the operations of the laboratory, that these doctrines prevailed among the Druids. They were not the opinions of solitary philosophers, but the known and established creed, sufficiently prominent, to attract the notice of a foreign observer. Chemistry then, must have been supported, and advanced, by public institutions. Nor would the ambition of science, have explored the interior of the globe, till all objects of obvious research, had been exhausted, and art had fully answered the demands of common life. Therefore, as in modern times, geology must have been preceded by a variety of arts and sciences, must have been the consequence of ages of civilization and science. Metallurgy is most intimately connected with chemistry, and was no doubt its origin. Chemistry was derived from the East; and the haughty conquerors of the world, shew their ignorance of it, by remarking, as strange, the familiar opinions of the geologist. Nor would the supposition be dis-

proved by any evidence from the chronicles, for the triumphs of science, are unfortunately not the subjects of history, which passes over in silence such establishments as the Royal Society, and the Institution, to which the world has been so deeply indebted, and makes no mention of the names, either of Newton, Davy, or Faraday.

In confirmation of this opinion, we have the most authentic natural, and historical, records, of a former destruction by water; and there is the amplest evidence, of the most extensive ravages, of that ocean of fire, over which we are now reposing; and which, at the last day of time, when eternity shall open its vast, and tremendous portals, may not so much destroy, as renovate the face of the globe.

The religion of Druidism must not be confined to Britain, for it pervaded the whole of Europe; till the royal family of Crete, a few generations before the Trojan war, by usurping divine honors, peopled the pagan heaven with new deities. To this source must be referred the peculiar veneration of the Greeks, and Romans, for trees, particularly the oak; and the ancient fable of the golden bough, the poetical appellation for the mistletoe. The natives of Britain, seem to have parted with pure Druidism, about the same time as other nations, and at the invasion of Cæsar, they worshipped the most popular of the Greek deities.

The poetry of the Celtic nations, was the annals of their country. The Iliad was no more, and if it had perished, would not have ranked higher. The

Druidical poems may have equalled the choicest compositions of antiquity; for they were made by a society especially appointed; and where a competition existed between different ages; and the national demand perpetually stimulated the exertions of poetry. The poems of the Druids, were, perhaps, the relations of their early expeditions, and conquests; the praises of ancient, and now forgotten heroes; and philosophical subjects, like the songs of the bards in the Greek, and Latin poets; accompanied, no doubt, with music, as the Tyrians excelled in that art.

The descriptions of Britain, inserted in the commentaries of Cæsar, and relating to a very ancient state of the country; are evidently interpolations; as they disjoin chapters whose sense is intimately connected. They are not the work of Cæsar; for a writer of taste, and judgement, had only two models; Thucydides, and Herodotus; and would have abstained entirely from such notices: or have prefixed them to his accounts of the respective campaigns. Besides, the reformer of the calendar, either by his own knowledge, or the temporary information derived from Sôsigenes, could not have supposed, that one day in Britain equalled a month in Italy. This statement probably arose from some obscure report of the phenomena of more northern regions. The testimony, supposing it to be Cæsar's, is of very little value, as he knew no part of the island, but Kent, and a small part

of Surry; and the population, excepting the armies, must have been withdrawn. The desire, too, of exalting themselves, by depreciating others; a suspicion of foreigners; and a consequent wish to lessen the value of Britain, lest it should become an object of Roman ambition, may have induced the people of Kent to give false accounts of it. With respect to the mode of living in the interior, the passage must either have been usually misinterpreted, or the author originally misinformed. But the words of the interpolator only intimate a mixed state of agriculture, and pasturage, in the interior, the latter employment predominating. It is impossible, as the natives were situated, that they should have subsisted solely on the produce of their flocks, in total ignorance of the use of corn, and other vegetable food, and of the value of skins and wool. Hides, procured in part from the interior, were exported from Britain; and, unless we attach imbecility, and defect of knowledge of their own interest, to the Britons, they assumed the more marketable form of leather, and parchment; articles in universal demand; for soldier's clothing under their armour, and for books. The exportation of cured provisions, and manufactured garments, after the example of Gaul; at all events, of the raw produce; must be conceded to Britain. As the Britons used wicker vessels, admirably adapted for the navigation of rivers, and the shallow-seas, there is every probability that they had

fisheries, and enjoyed a share in the lucrative traffic, of exporting the select portions of their produce in a pickled state. Strabo esteems the commodities of this kind from Spain and Gaul, equal to the Pontic; a jar of which, as we learn from an article in the Vatican collection, was sold for nearly ten pounds of our money. The demand in Rome, at a later period, for British oysters, no doubt similarly prepared, confirms the supposition. Timber also, as being extremely abundant, may have been exported, and this island have been the Canada of the Mediterranean. Such sources of wealth, corroborate the assertion, that Britain abounded in gold and silver. The passage implies merely that pasturage, a mode of life by no means indicative of a savage, or barbarous state, was the staple employment of the interior. It was not designed to exclude, even among those most devoted to it, the natural exchange of superfluous produce. Britain not being intersected by impassable mountains, it is impossible that corn should be cultivated in the north and south of the island, and be totally unknown in the interior. The absurdity would follow, that some of the inhabitants were living on the gross produce of their flocks, and herds; while their immediate neighbours, in addition to animal food; for cattle abounded in the most agricultural parts of the kingdom; enjoyed the use of bread corn. This arrangement, if it ever subsisted, must have instantly given way to

the obvious, and profitable, interchange of commodities.

In a medical, and an economical point of view, the possibility of such a national diet may be doubted; and, tho' the Nomad tribes seem to support the position, it is more probable that, like the Bedouin Arabs, they exchanged the produce of their flocks, and herds, for the other conveniences and luxuries of life. The pastoral nations could not have existed without manufactures, and commerce. The simplest dress, the covering of their tents, the vessels for milk, the knife, indispensable for killing and flaying animals, indicate the commencement of a commerce, which could not be restricted long to mere necessaries. But the Britons of the interior, had no resemblance to the migratory habits of the eastern shepherd; of course they did not dwell in tents, but in regular habitations; and must have partially cultivated the ground; at least so far as to provide winter food for the cattle; which the introduction of the turnip, from Gaul, very much facilitated. But this culture is an agricultural process; it is, therefore, most probable that the science of agriculture, being in high perfection in the south, was mixed with pasturage in every part of the island. But Cæsar found abundance of cattle in Kent; the south, therefore, did not depend on the north for a supply; there must have existed, therefore, in the north, marts for their cattle; and a sufficiency of agricultural

produce. As Cæsar found cattle in the south, if he had penetrated into the interior, he would have found corn sufficient for the forage of the legions. The inhabitants of the interior must have followed pasturage, not because they were less civilized than their agricultural neighbours, but because they found it a more profitable employment. The existence of purely pastoral tribes may be doubted. They lived either dependent on the agricultural, and commercial nations; or in strict alliance with them. The ancient accounts of the Nomad tribes, are too loose, and inconsistent, for the establishment of a general theory of pastoral habits. The Gætæ, who are described as living from the produce of their flocks, near the shores of the lake Mæotis, levied tribute from the agricultural nations of the Tauric Chersonesus; which, as may be collected from the tribute paid to Mithridates, consisted of corn, and gold. The vegetable food of civilized man, and foreign merchandize, being in their power, their rejection of them is perfectly incredible. These Nomad tribes built a wall, forty-five miles long, across the neck of the peninsula. They possessed a variety of arts, great national resources, and fixed habitations; for the most roving nations had, doubtless, some peculiar spot which they called their home. The Nomad Scythians, when invaded by Darius, had wooden fortifications, or rather, regular towns, surrounded with wooden walls; a circumstance, indicative of a fixed resi-

dence, and an attention to manufactures, and commerce. Manufactures, at least for home consumption, are expressly mentioned by the historian; and gold, and wine, could only have been procured by commerce. A fixed residence may also be inferred from the sepulchres of their fathers; for the burial of the dead no doubt gave a certain locality to the most wandering tribes.

In some favored regions of the globe, it is possible for the human animal to have subsisted, with no other habitation than the thicket; and no other food than the wild fruits of the earth. But in no situation could he have secured, and preserved, the produce of the flock, without more art than would be necessary to till the ground.

The traditions of all nations represent man as subsisting, at first, entirely on vegetable food; which he would never have completely relinquished. Varro records a tradition, that in the infancy of art, agriculture and pasturage were indiscriminate, but were afterwards separated. But this division of labor, implies the closest connexion between them. In confirmation of this tradition, the first family was pastoral, and agricultural; and the enumeration of property in the book of Job, shews that these occupations were united in the most ancient times. A judgment of the nature of pastoral life, may be formed from the bucolic poems of antiquity, where the occupation of the shepherd, is partly agricultural, and manufactu-

ring, and partly commercial. It is most agreeable to reason, to conclude that Britain followed the general analogy. Migration, however, is the effect, not of choice, but of necessity. The Nomad tribes merely moved in their waggons, or rather, portable houses of three or four stories, from the plains to the mountains; which being unfit for agriculture, were devoted to pasturage. They spent three or four months in the mountain pastures, and then returned to winter quarters in the agricultural regions. It strengthens this opinion, that the goat, an animal peculiarly adapted to woods, and hilly grounds, formed a chief part of the flocks of the ancients. In fact, a correct, tho' miniature, resemblance, of the whole process of pastoral movements, now exists in the plains, and mountains, of Switzerland. The pastoral tribes did not wander indefinitely in search of pasturage, but the pastures were integral parts of the country; and were often defended by walls and towers. The Bible, which gives the most just and beautiful pictures of pastoral life, represents it abounding in gold, corn, and wine; and procuring bread corn, in time of famine, as a necessary part of subsistence, with great hazard, and inconvenience, from a foreign kingdom. In later times, a Hebrew poet represents Tyre, as supplied with cattle by the pastoral tribes; who, of course, returned laden with Phœnician corn, and merchandize. This connexion with agricultural communities, must

have regulated their migrations, and limited their warlike operations. The agriculturist in almost all cases settled near the sea, while the pastoral tribes inhabited the interior: an observation, which may explain the ancient situation of Britain. This is true of the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; and the Scythian nations, who, of course, had a regular intercourse, were divided into nomad and agricultural. The interior of Arabia was pastoral, while the part adjoining Syria abounded with farmers and merchants. The pastoral tribes were dependent on other nations, or rather, made a part of them. In the early times of the Persians, the agricultural classes were to the pastoral, as six to four, and the same proportion may have been preserved in Britain; nor can it reasonably be supposed, that more land was devoted to pasturage than at present. There is not the smallest reason to conclude; considering the incessant attention paid to these subjects, by the nations of antiquity; that agriculture, and pasturage, were carried on by the Britons in a rude and inefficient manner.

A serious charge of indulging in the cruel superstition of offering human victims to the Gods, has been brought against the Celtic nations in general, by the interpolator of Cæsar. But the supposed sacrifices of the Druids, in which guilty persons were imagined to be the most acceptable offerings to the Gods, are contrary to analogy, and custom, which demand the most pure, and innocent victims.

A life forfeited to the laws, could on no principle be selected; when the animals chosen were to be without blemish; and the human victim, as most free from guilt, of extreme youth. These supposed sacrifices, could only have been the execution of criminals, condemned by the supreme judicature; the spectacle, as in modern Gaul, being made more imposing, by the presence of the judge; for the penalty of death, when necessary, should be as impressive as possible. The supreme council of the Gauls, in Asia, whose practice was derived from the Druids, alone determined in cases of murder; an indication of their extreme tenderness for the life of man; and their adoption of the humane maxim of antiquity, that no delay in deciding upon it could be long; for the process must have been tedious and expensive. This extreme care, renders it probable that a public execution was attended with the most imposing solemnities, and religious rites, which naturally gave it, to a foreign observer, the air of a sacrifice.

The revival of learning, by turning the current of the human mind into new channels, left comparatively deserted, the ancient British and Saxon histories; which were condemned as false, when they contradicted the meagre, and partial details, of a foreign invader. Yet the native history has every claim to attention; and its very want of interest confirms its truth. Truth is only violated for the sake of some splendid, or pleasing fiction. But the

chronicles have the coldness of reality. The native histories, if fabulous, are certainly less fabulous than Livy; as they contain nothing impossible, and only contradict preconceived notions; yet we justly give credit in general to the Roman historian; while we inconsistently reject the whole of the chronicles. But, if colonies came by sea from the East; if a constant intercourse with polished nations, necessarily brings refinement; if the possession of iron, makes man lord of the forest, and of the treasures of the earth; if the peaceful triumphs of art, science, trade, and commerce, by affording the motives for conquest, must have preceded the ravages of war; if the chronicles are more confirmed, than contradicted, by Cæsar; there is nothing in reason, or history, to impeach their veracity. Let us then hear their simple tale without prejudice—The British histories, slightly intimating a former age of power, and magnificence, which might easily have existed and passed away; embrace a period, which commenced after the Trojan war: when four generations had descended in Italy, from Æneas, an illegitimate son of Anchises, one of the royal family of Troy. This time, tho' amply sufficient for building the prosperity of a great kingdom, was not more, than Britain, from the state in which Cæsar found it, must have required. A fabulist might plausibly have carried his story many ages higher, at least to the expulsion of the Canaanitish nations by Joshua. But

the time is little more than has elapsed since the Norman conquest to the present day. The chronicles, therefore, cannot be charged with assuming a remote and fabulous antiquity. The maritime states of Italy enjoyed great commercial prosperity, with the consequent desire of sending out colonies. As the coasts of the Mediterranean, were crowded with population, a colony to Britain, and the founding of Troynovant, are by no means improbable events; and are feebly opposed by the supposition that these elements, in the language of Italy, at that time, could not have signified New Troy; which appellation it still bears in the ancient British tongue; an argument of its high antiquity; and of the removal of forgery from the age of the authors to whom it has been imputed. The glory of ancient Troy would naturally suggest the name, to a prince descended from the royal family of that extensive, and opulent empire: as a similar feeling has studded the new hemisphere, with duplicates of European cities. If the settlement of Brutus be admitted, a long succession of descendants easily follows. The chronicles place this event in the year 1115 before Christ, a date, which induced later historians to disbelieve them; when their long continued credit, had made scepticism a novelty; and paradox more inviting than truth. Because Greece was imagined uncivilized, all co-existing nations were concluded to be barbarous; tho' there is no reason for supposing that

the stream of civilization first flowed in the direction of Greece. But the actual date, a little more than 800 years before Christ, removes even this trifling objection; for it was an era, when, as Cicero observes of the age of Romulus, Greece, highly civilized, abounded with poets, and philosophers. A more frivolous argument is brought forward by some writers, that it is disgraceful to be descended from Venus, the poetical appellation of the mistress of Anchises. But, if mere disgrace be an argument, there can be no descent whatever from mean, or vicious persons. If we suppose the chronicles to be forgeries, we must assume the non-existence of all British records, and traditions; which, however they may disfigure truth, never invent histories, and even fables have their reality; and conclude, that some individual related, without any foundation, the succession of princes, with the actions attributed to them. But a complex forgery of national events, most easy of detection at its first appearance, is plainly impossible. A forger would have followed exactly, the accounts of Livy, and Cæsar, from whom he differs materially: and variation is often the most convincing argument of truth. A forged chronicle would have connected Avebury, and Stonehenge, with the early history of Britain; enlarged on the number, and construction, of the war chariots; and evaded, in some specious manner, the calumnies of Cæsar. British records, therefore, or authentic

traditions, must have existed. Something too, of romance, mingles itself with forgery. The gradual development of resources; the regular formation of roads; the extension of trade; and the introduction of successive laws; would not have been the subjects of a forged chronicle. The country had been colonized long before the expedition of Brutus; and a powerful kingdom, intimated by the term giants, established in Cornwall, which must have early attracted the notice of foreign nations, on account of its mines. Brutus, tho' he claims the victory, and pretends to have given back the kingdom to Corneus, was himself defeated; and obliged to seek on the banks of the Thames, a more favorable place for his settlement. The otherwise unknown antiquity of London, favors this supposition of its origin. The divisions of the country in those times, were larger than at subsequent periods: and as accumulation of territory, indicating an advance in the science of government, is a sign of civilization, Britain must have far exceeded the Heptarchy. The kingdom of Albany, extended from the Humber, to Edinburgh, and Dumbarton. The south of the Humber, excepting the Dukedom of Cornwall; and Cambria, bounded by the Dee, and the Severn; was called Loegria. By a politic alliance with Corneus, Cornwall was added to Loegria; the original dominions, either by conquest, or alliances, of the family of Brutus. In imitation of Troy, a temple was built at Troy.

novant, to Apollo, its tutelary God; whose high Priest, styled by the chronicles an Archflaume, had spiritual jurisdiction over the south of Britain: as the Archflaume of Diana; in the city of Ebranke; founded by Ebranke, the great grandson of Loerine, the son of Brutus; had over the north. The resources, and dominions, of the kingdom, must have increased considerably between the reigns of Brutus, and Ebranke, who built the castles of Dumbarton, and Edinburgh; conquered Gaul; and colonized Germany. A powerful British navy, therefore, whose gradual increase is unnoticed, existed at this early period. This fact may explain some obscure parts of Cæsar's narrative; and favors the theory of the colonization of the Continent from Britain. A forger would, perhaps, have attributed all these actions to his favorite Brutus. But the founding a new city, with its consequent laws, and regulations; and strengthening his interest by alliances; tho' too little for a fabulous hero, formed an adequate employment for a real monarch. In this gradual progression, nothing oversteps the modesty of truth. Various cities were built by his descendants; among whom, Rudhudibras founded Caerkent; the only city mentioned by the chronicles, on the high road from the coast of Kent, to the Thames; and whose existence is plainly pointed out in the commentaries of Cæsar. The education of Bladud, the son of Rudhudibras, verifies a conjecture, which natu-

rally enters the mind, when we learn that the Athenians visited Britain. It is, that if the Athenians, for they were the most maritime people of Greece, frequented Britain; that the Britons, either for information, or from mere curiosity, made voyages to Athens. It appears from the chronicles, that they actually resided there for the purpose of education. Athens, at the lowest reckoning, was an university at the age of Homer, or the poet who wrote the Odyssey. The custom, therefore, of distant nations resorting thither, was, most likely, so general as not to excite the attention of the chronicler; who, without enlarging, as a forger would have done, on the importance of Greek literature, and the peculiar objects of his pursuit; or the mode of travelling, whether in a British or Greek vessel; merely states, as a matter of ordinary occurrence, that Bladud, in his minority, studied at Athens. He was, then, not the first, nor the only instance. A forger, whose object would have been the defence of his country from a charge of barbarism, would have given some specious account of the communication between the two countries. There must have been a constant communication, by the shipping of both nations, between Britain and Athens, at that period; for the heir of the kingdom must have required frequent intelligence; and accordingly, while he was there, Bladud was informed of the death of his father. If it be objected, that this visit is contradicted

by the total silence of the Greek writers, it must be considered, that statistical works, as totally uninteresting to foreigners, would be the first to perish; that tho' foreigners made an important part of the inhabitants of Athens, their respective nations are no where distinctly enumerated; and that the most splendid arrivals would have made but a momentary impression on that haughty population. It may be added, if the theory of the influence of climate be allowed, that the modesty and good sense of the Briton, engaged in serious pursuits, must have rendered him, at all times, averse from empty show. The only conclusive argument, would have been an authentic list of foreigners, excluding Britain, and the nations of the West. If it be recollected that the visits of the Gallie Droids to Rome, were nearly passed over; and that the embassies of the Allobroges, and of the Germans, to Rome, were only incidentally mentioned; it cannot be expected that unconnected events of this nature, should have reached posterity. Some events naturally followed the visit to Athens, of a Prince, fond of literature, and desirous of extending the advantages of learning among his own people. Bladud founded universities at Stamford, and Bath, and engaged professors from Athens. Literary persons abounded there who taught the language, and philosophy for gain; and who, even without the inducement of a regular establishment, were, at all times, eager to visit foreign countries.

The patriotic wishes of Bladud, were thus easily gratified, and the British student learned Greek as a living language, with every advantage of communication, with the travelled, and disputations, Athenian. A forger would have enhanced the antiquity of Cambridge, and Oxford; or have paid a gratifying compliment to the metropolis. The establishment of an university at Stamford, shews that Troynovant, Ebranke, and other great cities, must have been furnished with the means of literary education, by the munificence of preceding monarchs.

It is a strong confirmation of the visit of Bladud to Athens, that the sculpture of the fragments of the temple of Minerva, discovered at Bath, strongly resembles, in architectural sharpness, many of the friezes among the Elgin marbles. The desire of Bladud, to improve his country in every respect, may have induced him to bring architects from Athens; and the worship of Minerva, in that city, would naturally incline him to dedicate a temple to her favorite deity. These introductions of polytheism, by Brutus, and his successors, throw back the age of pure Druidism to a very ancient period. The Druids of Cæsar's times, as they mixed freely in the business of the world, differed but little from the pontifices of Rome.

A prodigious increase must have been made in the population, and resources, of the country, between the reigns of Bladud, and Dunwallo Mal-

mutius; and it is an argument for the truth of the chronicles, that so far from accounting for this increase of power, and wealth, they do not even notice it, but by its effects.

The reign of Dunwallo Malmutius, is remarkable for the first mention of a code of laws, that is, a digest of preceding statutes; which demonstrates a long course of previous civilization. Legislation can only dress the future in the mirror of the past. If it attempts to be prospective, it becomes ridiculous, and useless. If it could prophetically anticipate all the resources of fraud, it would be pernicious. Law, therefore, does not precede, but follows crime; and its office, is only to prevent the recurrence of past grievances. The Lawgiver merely collects, and remodels existing laws, and is not the inventor of new systems. Complex laws, beyond the simple punishments of a penal code, demanded by the earliest stages of the world, indicate a complex, that is, a refined state of society.

The British histories relate a circumstance of Dunwallo, who succeeded to the throne after forty years of civil and foreign wars, which could not have entered into the mind of a fabulist, that he was the first monarch who wore a crown of gold. Copper gilt had been the sole material, before his reign. An incident of this nature, could only have found a place in the narrative because it was true. A mere fabulist would have been more prodigal of gold. As this monarch built temples, in

Cambria, as well as Loegria, the whole island, to the south of Scotland, must have been under his dominion. The long and prosperous reign of Dunwallo, makes more probable, the great events recorded of his sons, Belinus and Brennus; whose conquests in Italy, and Greece, indicate a state of prosperity, which has never been surpassed. If national wealth abounded, one of its most natural directions, the improvement of the metropolis, confirms the tradition of a palace at Troynovant, erected by Dunwallo. To Dunwallo, is attributed the plan of forming the four highways of Britain, which were finished by his son Belinus. Roads are completed, because travellers and goods have already passed in those directions: as the exchange is built, not that merchants may assemble, but because they have already assembled. The wishes, and wants of the people, originally suggest their construction to the government; consequently, they are strong indications of national prosperity. This early construction of roads deserves attention, because some have imagined, contrary to reason, and even the evidence of the commentaries, that the Britons had no roads before the invasion of Cæsar. Roads are expensive establishments, requiring regular funds for their formation, and preservation; and are, therefore, the works of a civilized and improving country. As roads existed before the time of Cæsar, for his expressions indicate them as clearly as the most authen-

tic British map, there is no reason to deny the completion of regular lines of roads, to Dunwallo, and Belinus. The previous non-existence of roads, must not be inferred; for as there was a road in the same direction before the Appian way, so Britain must have been regularly traversed before the reign of Belinus. The four highways stated in the chronicles, and which, like those mentioned by Cæsar, certainly communicated with many others; are clear signs of the most extensive commerce; and the most active internal trade. Their direction indicates a constant communication with the north of Europe, Ireland, Spain, and France. As Cæsar found a high road in Britain, which could be no other than the Watling-street, leading from the sea-coast to the Thames, we have a key to his main object, the occupation of the capital; and to the precise spot, a little to the west of Westminster, where he pretended to have passed the river. A forged chronicle, would not have attributed an operation, apparently so simple, to two monarchs. Most probably it would have discarded the subject entirely; for fiction delights in magnificent, and visionary achievements. But the British histories, relate the gradually progressive development of resources; such as, from extraneous evidence, analogy, and the successful opposition made to Cæsar, might have been expected to have existed in Britain. That the capital should have partaken largely of the general prosperity,

makes the account of the palace, erected by Belinus, an event, extremely probable; and it will be confirmed by the name, till some advocate for the foundation of London, between the times of Cæsar and Agricola, shall have given a more plausible derivation of it. The prosperity of the kingdom must have increased materially, as thirteen populous neighbourhoods, in the time of Belinus, were erected into cities, by the building of temples, with flaumes attached to them. The kingdom was then divided into three ecclesiastical provinces, Albany, Loegria, and Cambria; governed respectively by Arch-flaumes, residing at Ebranke, Troynovant, and Caerleon. In the reign of Gurgwyn his son, the chronicles affirm, that Denmark was invaded, on account of the non-payment of tribute. Denmark then must have been conquered before this time. This dry relation of facts, without any comment, confirms the account of Ebranke's navy. A forged chronicle, would have expatiated on a topic so gratifying to the reader, as the early triumphs of a British navy. Fiction, also, would have reconciled all differences; as it is known from truth, by being too probable; its foreign origin being betrayed by laboured atticisms. Fiction, if examined accurately, would appear to differ as much from falsehood, as the living characters of the Homeric poems, from the cold vision which glides thro' the Æneid.

In the regency of Mercia, the widow of Gwy-

telin the son of Gurgwyn, the laws of Britain were revised, and an incorporated code formed, which was long known by the name of the Malmutian and Mercian laws; and the traditions respecting them, preserved by Hollinshed, confirm the highly civilized state of ancient Britain. Laws, which had so strong a hold on the public mind, as to be incorporated into the codes of succeeding law-givers, must have been the productions of judicious, and enlightened minds. The Britons adhered to these laws, while independent: and even the Saxons, tho' they at first attempted to abolish them, afterwards adopted the British laws, from their peculiar suitableness to the nature of the kingdom. This is evident, according to Hollinshed, from the laws of Ethelbert, Inas, and Alfred, kings of the West Saxons. The princes of that nation, when new laws were proposed, carefully referred to the code of Malmutius, which Gildas had translated into Latin; and incorporated into their own statutes, the British laws most suitable to the emergency. The legislation of Alfred, consisting of the best laws of Malmutius, and Mercia, shews the nature of the institutions of that early period; to which must be referred, the trial by jury, and the minute and rigorous system of police, to which every individual in the kingdom was subjected. The Normans, like their predecessors the Saxons, despised the ancient laws of the kingdom, and neglected them; till, convinced that their native

institutions were not adapted to Britain, they were induced to inquire how the nation was formerly governed. They then incorporated the Malmutian, and Mercian laws, with their own; which mixture now forms the great body of the common law, far excelling the statute law, both in theoretical, and practical wisdom. Thus, there existed among the ancient Britons, the grand line of demarcation between civilized, and barbarous life; which, by securing property, enlarges the bounds of commerce; and gives that leisure, and tranquillity, so essential to the pursuits of literature, and philosophy.

The consequences of civilization in the reign of Mercia, were, no doubt, most ample; for the sovereign was devoted to the literature of the Greeks, which, of course, became the favorite pursuit of her subjects. Greek literature necessarily refines the native language, by the example of its sweetness, strength, and propriety; and by the copious, and varied images, which it introduces. Arts, and sciences, must have flourished; or the worship of Minerva, their supposed patroness, would have had no attractions for the Celtic nations. The worship of Mercury also, the inventor of arts, the god of commerce, and roads, shews the existence of foreign and domestic trade. Many statues of Mercury were erected in Gaul; and probably each of the temples in Gaul, and Britain, had the statue of its appropriate divinity. Xenophon

mentions marble as one of the regular exports of Athens; much more, when rendered infinitely valuable by the skill of the statuary. The sculpture of the Greeks, perhaps, formed part of the cargoes of the Phœnician fleets, which traded in articles of luxurious refinement. The worship of Apollo, shews the existence of medicine; not necessarily rude, and defective, but part of the science of the Greeks, and the wisdom of the Egyptians. Celsus ranks Gaul with Rome, and Egypt, in medical knowledge; and as the Celtic nations derived the science from the East, it was probably conveyed to Britain, subdivided, according to the Egyptian practice, into distinct professions. It may have flourished in Britain, long before it was introduced into Greece, even in its rudest state, one generation before the Trojan war, by Esculapius; whose fabled descent from Apollo, shows him to have been a professor from the East. Among the succeeding reigns there are many indications of civilization, and mental refinement. Gorbonian, grants loans to the landed interest; and in his reign, is the first intimation of a regular navy. Elinde, is represented as skilful in astronomy; and Bledud Gabred in music. The music of the ancients, like painting, another fine art, of which we have no specimen, may yet be inferred to have been of the highest excellence. For all the arts rise to a level; painting, therefore, and music, must have equalled the kindred arts,

of statuary, and poetry. But music, and dancing, were assiduously cultivated among the barbaric nations; from Thrace, the native country of Orpheus, and Linus; to Parthia, the Troglodytes, and the nations bordering on the Indian ocean; who used an instrument exactly resembling the modern violin. The Phœnicians were musical, and the inventors of musical instruments; which, with the elements of the science, and the compositions of the East, they must have conveyed to all their colonies. The barbaric nations had also a theatre, as appears from a passage in Aristoxenus, complaining of its pomp, and show, and its departure from the rigid simplicity of the Greek theatre. These superstructures of civilization, show the extreme antiquity of their foundation, all the arts, and sciences of common life. In the barbaric theatre, music, and dancing, which, as it comprehended the motion of the arms, and the elegance of the whole deportment, must have far exceeded the efforts of modern art, were, no doubt, united with the utmost excess of pomp in dress, and decoration. In the reign of Elinguellus, mention is again made of a regular army, with an intimation of separate funds for its support. Cavalry, infantry, and a most expensive corps of chariots, a complex force, which required many generations for its completion, existed at the time of Cæsar's invasion, and thus prove the long continued prosperity of the kingdom, and confirm the veracity of the chroni-

cles. A great increase of prosperity is observable shortly before the Roman invasion, for King Lud either built a new city, to the west of Troynovant; or so far improved and enlarged the ancient city, that it was called after his name, Ludstown, a word not yet obsolete among the lower orders of the people, with whom the vestiges of ancient language, unaffected by the caprice of fashion, remain longest. According to the chronicles, he surrounded the city with walls, and towers; and built a palace, and a temple, in which he was buried, in a tomb richly adorned with sculpture.

Tacitus describes London as abounding with merchants, and shipping; and by expressly stating that it was not a Roman colony, proves that it could not have been founded between the times of Cæsar, and Agricola; and that, consequently, it must have been originally a British city. The tortuous streets of ancient London, bear no resemblance to the regular arrangement of the Roman castra. The variation between Cæsar, and the chronicles, as to the names of Lud, and his son, may be solved by the supposition, that the chronicles give the names merely, while Cæsar mentions their titles. The same elements are in both, and the words may mean the reigning prince, and the heir-apparent. Both agree in the usurpation of Cassivelaunus; but Cæsar mentions a report, perhaps current at the time, that King Lud had been murdered. The wars alluded to by Cæsar,

the probable consequences of the usurpation of Cassivelaunus, were prudently terminated by the Britons, when they heard that the Romans meditated an invasion. At this period, the picture of Britain, presented by the chronicles, is that of a rich and powerful kingdom, with a regular army; a large navy; extensive commerce; great internal trade; an effective police; and a system of laws, which were adopted by successive governments. The arts, sciences, and literature, enjoyed advantages now unknown; and manufactures flourished, according to Hollinshed, before the coming of the Romans. Glass, was made in Britain; cloth; fine scissars, shears, and, of course, various kinds of cutlery; collars of gold, and silver; cruses, and cups of amber; with various ornamental works in ivory. The common principles of commerce, would teach the Britons the advantage of exporting native and foreign metals, wool, and the ivory supplied by their eastern trade, in a manufactured form. It would be easy, but tedious, to enumerate the variety of trades, and occupations, resulting from the elements afforded; as every intermediate step, between the rude material, and the ultimate process, must necessarily be granted. The elements of civilization existed in abundance, and till the negative be proved, it may fairly be contended, that their natural fruits were, refinement, riches, and power.

But, it may be said that these suppositions of

ancient British splendor are annihilated, by the evidence of Cæsar; proving that the Britons were undisciplined barbarians, removed but by one step, the partial cultivation of the soil, from the condition of savages. A short summary of the events in Gaul, will entirely discredit the testimony of Cæsar, as to Britain. It is evident that the Romans must have laid the general plan of a campaign; comprising the repulse of the Cimbri; and the conquest of Gaul and Britain, with their occupation as provinces of the Romans. The failure of all these objects, excepting the first, tempted a general, of an ambitious character, to pervert the truth, by fictions, favorable to his reputation, and agreeable to the Roman nation. This principle pervades the commentaries. The perpetual assumption of ostensible, for real motives; the inversion of events, making the cause to appear the effect; the union of transactions belonging to different periods; the assertion of direct falsehoods; the concealment, diminution, and exaggeration of truth; and prevarication; fully justify the character given of the commentaries, by Asinius Pollio; one of the best judges of military matters, and of literary composition; that they were written without any regard to truth; which was perverted, sometimes by design, and sometimes by forgetfulness. Asinius Pollio, indeed, betrays a guilty knowledge, as if he himself had been the author; intimating, that Cæsar intended materially to correct the com-

mentaries. That various copies, suited perhaps to the temper of the times, and different from those now existing, were formerly published; is apparent, from the accounts of the slaughter beyond the Rhine, stated by Suetonius, and Eutropius; for these authors must have consulted the commentaries. The victories beyond the Rhine, then, being gradually disclaimed, a corrected edition would, most probably, have been silent as to the passages of that river; to which many objections may be raised.

If the narrative of Cæsar, had neither been involved in contradiction, nor virtually refuted by other authors, his evidence might well be suspected. But if the commentaries, whose first appearance is so plausible and candid, be minutely examined, there will be ample reason to disbelieve, even his most positive assertions. The truth, on a nearer approach, gradually discloses itself: and, instead of conquest, we behold defeat; for splendid additions to the empire, a disastrous campaign, tarnished with cruelty, and ending with making Rome tributary to the Gauls. We behold Britain elevated, as an object of conquest, and acquisition, to the most warlike, and powerful nation of Europe; backed by allies, both by sea and land, in every part of the known world. We behold Cæsar, falsely boasting of conquests from which he shrinks; and the passages of rivers which he never attempted; and, ultimately, quitting Gaul, after having pur-

chased with money, the safety of the Roman empire.

The first entrance of Cæsar into Gaul, was less honorable, and less independent, than his narrative intimates: for the Romans were called in as allies to the Ædui, as the Germans were to the Sequani. The mission of Divitiacus to Rome, is represented as unsuccessful; tho' the conquest of the Ædui, the acknowledged friends of the Romans, would have led to the immediate invasion of Italy. But the mission was virtually successful; as appears by a decree of the senate, in the consulship of Messala, and Piso; that whoever obtained the province of Gaul, should defend the Ædui, and the other friends of the Roman people. This decree, was made at the particular request of the Ædui; but generalized by the senate, that it might appear to be a principle of their government. In this magnificent manner, did the Romans assent to a simple alliance; and, in consequence, their legions joined the armies of the Ædui. It was thought degrading to the majesty of the Roman people, to act as allies; they, therefore, always assumed the character of principals. This principle, is a key to the inversion of incidents; both in the wars in Gaul, and in the case of Mandubratius, in Britain. Contemporary British history, clearly explains the order of time, as to Mandubratius; and if the Gallic accounts had remained, they would, doubtless, have given a widely different statement,

of the causes which brought the Romans into Gaul. Nothing can be more disingenuous than the Roman history, as to all transactions with the Celtic empire. The various alternations, of victory, and defeat; are passed over in total silence, or only casually introduced. The calamitous period, between the consulships of Carbo, and Marius, when the rapidly successive losses of six consular armies, must have so often thrown the peninsula into mourning, is only mentioned episodically, to contrast the events of those times, with the exploits of some favorite general. That important interval demanded a regular history; as it occupied a most conspicuous place in the Celtic annals. The same ominous silence as to the state of Gaul, was preserved for nearly fifty years; a period, dishonorable to the Romans; and which kept up a lively dread of the Celtic nations, from the repulse of the Cimbri, by Marius, till Julius Cæsar obtained the province of Gaul. There is reason to believe, that shortly before the events of the commentaries, the Romans had come into contact with Ariovistus, in conjunction with the Ædui, in that terrible encounter, when they suffered so severely, in their nobility, senate, and cavalry. That the Romans suffered considerably, in that war, is evident from the extreme consternation among the troops of Cæsar, at the approach of Ariovistus, which is described in the most strong, and lively colours; and must have originated in the recollection of some recent dread-

ful defeat. The expressions of Appian, are most remarkable, and indicate a direct tributary payment, on the part of the Romans; in addition to the presents of the scarlet robe, the embroidered tunic, and the ivory throne; the customary compliment, to those who were styled, the friends of the Roman people. This conciliation took place in the consulship of Cæsar, and at his instigation. But the causes of this treaty had now ceased, and the Germans were preparing to pass the Rhine, and invade Italy. All the nations on the banks of the Rhine, were united in a dangerous confederacy; which required the utmost skill, and power, of the Romans, to dissolve. The policy of Cæsar, concealed the extent of the danger from his troops, by representing the invasion of the Helvetians, as completely isolated. But their expedition, either formed part of the army of Ariovistus, or was in strict alliance with him; as appears from their simultaneous operations. The object was the invasion of Italy; but the most powerful nations of Gaul, no longer assisted them. For, even the Sequani, who had called in the Germans; disappointed of the sovereignty of Gaul, and subjected to Ariovistus; joined the Ædui, and their allies, the Romans, in expelling the Germans. Both nations eventually found the Romans regardless of the interest of Gaul, and intent only on aggrandizing themselves. This feeling, after Cæsar had failed in reducing Armorica, and Britain; the favorite

object of the nations of the interior; produced that general alliance, which drove the Romans from Gaul.

One of the most incredible romances of history, is the account given by Cæsar of the Helvetians; for the feeling which binds the inhabitant of the Alps to his native country, is not of to-day, or yesterday, but has lasted, since the clouds, and waters, gave life to their prospect; and will continue, till the mountains shall be no more. The individual indeed migrates, but he constantly bears with him the liveliest images of his native valley; and a foreign life, is only made tolerable by the hope of return. The inhabitant of the city, finds a home wherever fortune invites him; latently conscious, that the hand of time; or caprice; or improvement, for improvement destroys identity; is daily removing from him the scenes of his infancy. But the mountaineer leaves his country, with the certainty of finding every thing on his return, even after an absence of thirty or forty years, exactly as he left it. The few objects presented to his mind, leave an indelible impression. The varied outline of the mountain; the horn, that calls the cattle home from the distant woods; the annual melting of the snow, and the consequent annual floods; can never be forgotten. In the dark shop, and narrow lane, of some far distant city, he sees in his mind, the falling of the torrent; and the cloud, that now disencloses, and now shuts up, the prospect. If man

has always been the same, the entire emigration is impossible: and the relation of it, is one among many instances, in which Cæsar endeavors to impose on the world; and, consequently, detracts from the credibility of his testimony as to Britain.

If the invasion of Britain was not of an episodic, and isolated nature, a thousand rumours, and anticipations, where so many were necessarily privy to the intention, must have preceded its actual accomplishment. Not only the nation itself, must have had the most ample warning; but an extreme alarm, must have pervaded all the intermediate countries. Accordingly, the jealousy of the Belgæ was strongly excited; and by forming alliances, they anticipated a war, which a short time would have made inevitable. Cæsar, with great art, and with his usual inversion of events, labors very particularly to shew that the Belgæ commenced hostilities; and assigns a variety of motives for their conduct; speculating according to the nature of falsehood, for the truth is generally simple, on all possible motives for action. But, if the Belgæ, alarmed at the denunciation of a design on Britain, armed themselves, and formed defensive alliances; yet the first attack, was made by the Ædui, and their allies, in conjunction with the Romans. The movement of the grand army, in the direction of Britain; the expedition against the Unelli, and Aquitania, that no hostile movements might be made on the flank of the advancing army; and the

attempted reduction of Armorica, which, enriched by the commerce of Britain, took up arms in her defence; are ample evidence of the designs of Cæsar. If the conquest of Gaul had been the sole object, policy demanded the complete reduction of Aquitania, from which the Romans might have proceeded, slowly, but surely, to the conquest of the whole country. But they either overrated their own resources, or undervalued the power of the enemy; and, by including Britain in the plan of the campaign, however their disasters have been palliated, and concealed, certainly failed in almost every object. That the Romans acted in the subordinate capacity of allies, is evident, from the very important circumstance, that the invasion of the Belgæ commenced, with the advance of an entirely separate army of the Ædui, into the territories of the Bellovaci. Cæsar pretends that this was done at his command; but if so, he gave up the most important post to the allies. For, as he himself states, the Bellovaci excelled the other Belgæ in valour, influence, and also in the number of their population, in so great a proportion, that they demanded the direction of the whole war; and yielded only to the superior pretensions of Galba, king of the Suessiones; whose predecessor, Divitiacus, had formerly extended his dominion to the coast, having reigned over Britannia, a country of Armorica. The army of the Ædui, was opposed to at least 120,000 men; which of course;

they must have nearly equalled in number. The second army, which advanced in co-operation with the Romans, was opposed to 228,000; the Romans, therefore, could only have formed a small part of it, and their influence on the campaign, must have been proportional to their forces. The prodigious disparity, between the legions of Cæsar, and the armies of the Ædui, notwithstanding the high tone assumed in the commentaries, proves that the Romans could have acted only as allies. If, therefore, the most deliberate falsehood mixes itself with the original plan of the campaign, there is still less reason to give credit to its details. These operations formed part of the design of the Ædui, to subjugate the other nations of Gaul, and to invade Britain. The people of Armorica, enriched by the commerce of Britain, were friendly to her; but the nations of the interior, were influenced by jealous, and hostile feelings, which of course extended to her allies. The reduction of the Belgæ, formed part of the original plan; and it was arranged, that both divisions, after penetrating the country in different directions; should unite before Bratuspantium, the capital; when Divitiacus would take the command of the whole army. Cæsar, indeed pretends that Divitiacus dismissed his troops, and returned to him; a fiction, intended to aggrandize the Romans as the sole conquerors of the Belgæ. But this measure, in itself unlikely, and an act of treachery against the Romans, is contra-

dicted by the influence retained by Divitiacus; for Cæsar ascribes to his intercession, acts done by the sole authority of Divitiacus, as commander in chief. This deception, is perfectly in accordance with the systematic misrepresentations of Cæsar, and necessarily follows from the original falsehood, that the Romans acted as principals, in the invasion of the nations of Gauls. In the subsequent expedition against the Nervii, it is evident that the Ædui had not been dismissed; for, Cæsar says, that he was followed by some of the Belgæ, and the other Gauls. In this slight manner, does he mention armies, numerically at least, far superior to his own.

To this principle, that of the most unqualified ambition, must be referred, the desire of Cæsar to appear always as a conqueror. It is exemplified in the whole affair with the Nervii. The Roman army evidently falls into an ambuscade, and is defeated, in consequence of their careless order of march; each legion being followed by its own baggage, an arrangement which would preclude mutual support. All subsequent authorities confirm the ambuscade, and invalidate the testimony of Cæsar. He pretends that the Nervii, knowing his order of march, from deserters, had designed to attack the first legion, when its baggage came in sight; but that, aware of their intention, he altered the disposition of his army, putting six legions in front; then, all the baggage, protected

by two legions. But the attack was so unexpected, that the troops had not time to uncover their shields, or put on their helmets; the most distressing, and burdensome part of ancient armour, consisting of several pieces, completely covering the face and resting on the coat of mail. It was only put on immediately before action, and at other times was deposited among the baggage. The process of joining the pieces, must have been too tedious, to have been effected on any sudden emergency. But the alteration in the order of march, an alteration made in the apprehension of an immediate attack, would have proved the necessity of the operation, and have given ample time for it. Without a helmet, the Roman soldier, exposed to the Gallic broadsword, could hardly think of defence, much less of victory. As Cæsar, therefore, made no preparation, but the supposed alteration in the order of march; it follows, that this too was omitted, and that he only inferred the design from its execution. Every word of Cæsar indicates a total surprise, inconsistent with the pretended arrangement. Time was wanting for the usual preliminaries, and the troops were left entirely to their own discretion; which, from the variance of opinion, must have produced the utmost confusion. Cæsar gives a very full, and, if his account be true, an unnecessary description of the country, covered with underwood, and briars, and admirably adapted for an ambuscade. Cæsar mentions

that the attack was made at the exact time preconcerted, when the first baggage came in sight. But if six legions had preceded it, the stratagem must have entirely failed. The consternation of the drivers; the dispersion of the light troops; the legions pressed upon, and nearly surrounded; the immense slaughter of the centurions; with the loss of standards; and the formation of the hollow circle, the last and most desperate manœuvre of defensive warfare; indicate surprise, and defeat. Yet Cæsar claims the most decisive victory, almost to the extermination of the Nervian name, and nation; pretends that thro' mere pity, he leaves the Nervii in possession of their territories; and commands the neighbouring nations, to abstain from all injury to them. Far from taking an unfair advantage of his success, with a superfluity of kindness, lest even the sight of a conqueror might hurt their feelings, this clement warrior, withdraws his army beyond the Seine, into the territories of the Carnutes, and Turones.

The most extraordinary assemblage of deception, and positive falsehood, is exhibited in the account of the expedition of Galba, to the valley of the Rhone, and the high Alps. It was a service of importance, to keep open the communication between Italy, and Gaul: for the inhabitants plundered merchants; exacted money from regular troops; and intercepted the supplies. Galba was ordered to occupy Octodurus, in the valley of the

Rhone, above the lake of Geneva; and if he judged it necessary, that is, if he had it in his power, to winter there. Galba, if uniformly victorious, disobeyed orders; by evacuating the country, and omitting the fruit of victory, the permanent occupation of Octodurus. Yet Galba claims a complete victory; and Cæsar asserts the conquest of the Seduni. But Galba, obtained only a precarious possession, of part of Octodurus; and from defeat, and the want of supplies, was compelled to quit it, with the loss of the baggage, and probably of the wounded. The real case is related, as an advice proposed, but not agreed to; that, when surrounded by the enemy, they should force their way to Gauk. Any other supposition is totally incredible; for, the garrison was far outnumbered by the assailants, who could always bring fresh men to the attack; while the Romans could not even withdraw the wounded; much less the tired men, from their posts. After a contest of six hours, when the strength, and missile weapons, of the troops, failed them; they are represented as sallying out from all the gates; surrounding the enemy, who were more than 20,000; putting the third part of them to the sword; and driving the rest up the mountains. They then return to the camp, and immediately evacuate the country: undoubtedly with the loss of the baggage, as no mention is made of its preservation. The whole story of the sally, and the victory, is a mere fiction, to support the

glory of the Roman arms. The victory, if real, would have opened the passage of the Alps; or if not acted upon, would have been followed by the death, or disgrace, of Galba. But if Galba had been defeated, as Cæsar must have been privy to the whole transaction, both are convicted of the most deliberate falsehood; and the testimony of the commentaries, in all other statements, becomes questionable.

The war with the Veneti demands particular attention, because the destruction of the maritime states of Gaul, was the best preparation for the invasion of Britain; and because the existence may undoubtedly be inferred, of a British navy. If the mind can bring itself to conclude that the distant nations, of Greece, and Phœnicia, traded for centuries with Britain, without exciting emulation; surely the existence of a navy, almost in sight of Britain, as the requisites for shipping abounded, must have roused the dormant faculties of the British. The Veneti received aid from Britain; and from the Morini, and Menapii, and other states bordering on the sea; but none from the interior of Gaul: it must, therefore, have been entirely naval; and the British ships, must have exactly resembled those of the Veneti. But the vessels of the Veneti, were of immense size, built entirely of oak; with the prows, and sterns, raised high above the spray of the sea, and totally impenetrable by the famous rostra of the Roman ships;

and were evidently adapted, by their strength, and construction, for long voyages, and tempestuous weather. The singular silence of Cæsar, respecting the shipping of Britain, tho' in the civil wars he imitates the curious construction of a British vessel, corroborates the evidence of the chronicles; particularly, as some parts of the commentaries can only be explained, by the existence of a British fleet. The acknowledged immense trade, between their country, and Britain, which induced the Veneti to take up arms, was no doubt carried on by the shipping of both nations, and on equal terms. But the extreme size of the Celtic ships, as they were impelled entirely by the wind, made them ineffective in a calm. In still weather, the Roman ships had the same superiority to the Celtic vessels, as the steam-boat now has to the sailing vessel. If the prodigious force of three banks of oars, be compared with the two paddle wheels of a steam-boat, the Roman galley must have exceeded it in velocity. A particular regard to proper weather, formed the leading feature in every embarcation. Thus, by choosing their time, they were enabled to evade the Celtic fleets, unless when a sudden breeze exposed them to attack; when, there is reason to believe, they were generally captured, or destroyed. That the British had shipping, but without banks of oars, is clear from the expression of Cæsar; that the shape of the Roman vessels of war, was more unusual to the Britons, and that

the motion of the oars, made a deep impression on their minds. It may then be inferred, that they were acquainted with other kinds of shipping. The wicker vessels of the ancient British would have been entirely useless to the Veneti; for they would have been instantly sunk by the beaks of the Roman ships. The British shipping, then, must have been built of oak, and not inferior in size, to the largest modern ships of the line. For, as the length, and breadth, of a ship, are in proportion to the height; the vessels of the Veneti, could not have been less than the present men of war. The Roman ships, at the lowest estimation, must have been ten feet above the water; and the towers, as they were above a kind of rampart, on the deck, could not have been lower than twelve feet; and even then, they were overtopped by the lofty decks of the Celtic ships. The Veneti used chain cables, and of course, iron anchors, proportionate in size, and weight, to the tonnage of the ships; and as the same necessity, naturally points out similar expedients, most likely, nearly resembling those of modern manufacture: and these articles point out the existence of extensive iron-works, most probably in Britain. As the anchor and chain cable, could not have weighed less than twelve tons; powerful machinery, which was used by the ancients even with hempen cordage, must have been necessary, for the management of them; the use of which, among a nation intimately connected

with Britain, completely disproves the absurd idea, that the ancient Britons were only acquainted with the lever. For the lever cannot be used by individuals, much less by a whole people, without an immediate sense of its limited operation; and the obvious remedy, the revolution of the longer arm; which, as the shorter arm must then be separated, necessarily generates the wheel and axis. Rowland, indeed, supposes that the immense masses at Stonehenge, were raised simply by the lever, and the inclined plane: but his suppositions, besides being groundless, actually increase the difficulty. Undoubtedly the Britons, as the inspection of Stonehenge must prove, to every mechanician, had their due share, of the very advanced mechanical knowledge, of the ages in which they lived.

The immense thickness of the timbers, makes the size of the vessels, of the Veneti, by no means incredible; particularly, if reference be made to the prodigious bulk, of the Alexandrian, and Syracusan ships. Excess of magnitude, would be a natural error, till corrected by experience. Naval architecture, is intimately connected with mechanics, in which the ancients were unrivalled; and a few centuries, would have advanced the art of ship-building to the greatest perfection. The ancient mechanician, had the power of arranging at will, all the materials, of civil, and military architecture. His resources were superior to

modern art, for, since the application of chemistry to war; and the removal of civilization, from the countries abounding in great masses of stone; mechanics have gradually declined, even for the purposes of civil life. In all the arts, and sciences, there is not the smallest reason, to attach ideas of rude imbecility to the operations, of any of the nations of the ancient world; or to admit, to their full extent, the arrogant pretensions, of the Greeks, and Romans, to exclusive civilization.

As the navy of the Veneti, with their allies, consisting of two hundred and twenty ships of the line, indicates an immense commerce; and as their connexion with Britain, infers the greatest similarity; undoubtedly the ancient Britons, as their long line of coast, and excellent harbours, naturally turned their attention to the sea, must have carried on an extensive foreign trade, in their own shipping.

Circumstances throw considerable doubt on any actual engagement, between the Romans, and the Veneti; and intimate, that the only object was to build ships on the Loire, for the invasion of Britain. It would have required six hundred Roman ships, to have engaged with the Veneti: and, as Cæsar makes no mention of their number, it detracts much from his veracity. The building of a navy in Gaul, shews that the invasion of Britain, was almost entirely a Gallic object: otherwise, the numerous fleets, which had been employed under

Pompey, against the Cilician empire, would have been ordered round to Britain. If they were prevented by the superiority of the Celtic fleets, a fresh argument arises in favor of the civilization of the western nations. As to the actual engagement, it seems impossible that Cæsar could, in the course of the year, have built on the Loire, an extemporaneous fleet, capable of contending, with the long established navy, of a powerful kingdom. If the Romans had been capable of conquering the fleet, of the Veneti, they would not have remained inactive, when, by impeding their operations, in passing successively to the different towns on the coast, they could have so effectually aided the Roman army. The superiority of the navy of the Veneti, is evident, from their being able to keep the sea, and to manœuvre during the whole summer: while the Roman fleet was detained in port, either by the weather, or by fear. The manœuvres mentioned by Cæsar, are impracticable; for the extreme height of the ships, would prevent the Romans from cutting the fastenings of the sail-yards. But the probability of this stratagem is still further destroyed, by the remark, that Brutus, and the tribunes, were entirely ignorant how to act: which is inconsistent, with the previous preparation of the necessary machinery. As the ships of the Veneti, must have quitted the port with a favorable breeze, the swell of the sea, would not have permitted a deli-

cate, and difficult operation. But, if the calm be allowed; if, immediately after a breeze, the sea had assumed the smoothness of a lake; and the utmost success be granted to the stratagem of Cæsar; even then, the numerous crews of the Celtic ships, could, with ease, have overpowered the very limited number of the assailants; which attempted, from the towers, to gain their lofty decks. Cæsar intimates that the battle was carried on, as on dry land; but the superior height of the Celtic ships must have made the combat so unequal, that a very moderate scepticism, will pronounce the engagement, and the alleged victory, absolutely impossible. The cruelty too, of Cæsar, to the senate of the Veneti, indicates the rage of disappointment. Another contradiction occurs in the sea-fight. The Veneti, after the sail-yards had been cut down, are represented as attempting to fly; which, in their situation, was impossible. They are said to have been prevented by a dead calm, otherwise they might have escaped; but if so, the sail-yards must have been uninjured. In this dead calm, the Romans doubtless employed the only advantage they possessed; in the velocity gained by their banks of oars, which enabled them to escape, and join the fleet,

The transactions with the Morini, and Menapii, are best explained, by a reference to the invasion of Britain. In the expedition against them,

Cæsar, tho' he claims the victory, was decidedly foiled, and defeated. Ambuscades, exactly similar to that in the Nervian war, destroyed his troops; and the suspension of military operations, is attributed to a succession of bad weather, which prevented the legions, tho' provided with tents, from keeping the field; and the real issue of the conflict, is established beyond a doubt, by the retreat of Cæsar beyond the Seine. These nations, if not superior to Cæsar, were certainly not conquered by him; and had little to fear from similar invasions. If, therefore, these events be compared with their submission to Cæsar, immediately before his embarkation for Britain; and their instant resumption of hostilities, on his return; we shall discern a deep laid stratagem, for the promotion of the invasion of Britain, as most likely to prove fatal to the Romans, and their Gallic allies. Before the invasions of Britain, all the nations of Gaul, which afterwards united in the most formidable confederacies against the Romans, were at peace.

If, from the account of the invasion of Britain, the remarks of the interpolator be deducted; and a proper allowance made for the feelings of a commander, jealous of reputation, and almost regardless of truth; whose main object, was to shew posterity, that he had conquered the island, and found the conquest not worth retaining; there is little in the commentaries, to impeach

the veracity of the chronicles. On the contrary, Cæsar does justice to the general equipment of the army; regularly composed of infantry, cavalry, and chariots: and every individual action, affords the clearest proofs of the skill, and bravery, of the native forces; and every presumption, that in arms, and discipline, they were on perfect equality with the Romans. A regular army, opposed to the undisciplined troops of barbarians, would, with ease have conquered, and occupied the country. But the conquest, if real, was not followed by the usual fruits of occupation, and permanent reduction; the only rewards of an acknowledged hazardous, and difficult enterprise. The Romans adopted the system, of the colonization, of the Greeks; who, for commercial purposes, surrounded foreign nations with a belt of colonies; the neglect of colonization, therefore, completely negatives the claim of victory.

The opinion in Italy, as to the invasion of Britain, shews it to have been a service of danger. Cicero, in a letter to his brother Quintus, uses these remarkable expressions, "I feared the ocean, and the shore of the island:" surely not simply as such; but, because the ocean was covered with hostile fleets, and the nearest shore fortified. The preparations in Britain, probably from the report of Volusenus, were well known in Italy; for Cicero informs Atticus, that the approaches of the island, were defended by works of an unusual

construction. Nor was the sense of danger, as it frequently happens, diminished on a nearer approach; for Trebatius, whose object it was to be about the person of Cæsar, contrived to be excused from the expedition. The forces employed, two legions, or a consular army, fully correspond with these apprehensions. Against naked, or half-armed barbarians, the attack of the Romans must have been irresistible; for, as to arms, the legionary soldier exactly resembled the knight, or modern man at arms, even to the closed helmet, and gauntlets. The Roman line, as Vegetius well expresses it, presented a wall of brass to the enemy. By the peculiar mode of using the sword, the Roman soldier, without exposing his own person, could inflict the most deadly wounds on his antagonist. If to these advantages, be added the unparalleled discipline of the Roman army, exercised by perpetual reviews; and in which, each individual, according to his merits, was gradually promoted thro' the different cohorts, and legions; it is impossible, that a barbarous nation, however populous, could have resisted a consular army. The mere opposition to a single legion, would remove the Britons very far from the degraded state, in which they are placed by some historians. They neither worshipped the Romans, as beings descended from heaven; struck with the splendor of their dress, and the glitter of their arms; nor fled in dismay from the con-

querors of the world: but contested with them, even the waters of the sea, and the pebbles of the beach. They encountered the Romans, with the most perfect knowledge of their mode of fighting, and the best means of opposing it; and nearly succeeded in driving them from their coast, without the glory of having effected a landing.

The Celtic nations mingled more freely, than the Romans are willing to allow, in the battles of the ancient world. The Gauls served in the army of Amilcar, in Sicily; and on the principle of reciprocity, must often have acted as allies, in Spain. The long, and sanguinary, contest with the Romans, which nearly gave Spain the empire of the world, must have been well known among the western nations. All stratagems, and improvements, in the art of war, could speedily be conveyed to Britain; if, indeed, her sons, as in the wars of Gaul, did not share the danger, and glory, of the combat. That the Celtic nations understood the use of defensive armour, in the greatest perfection, is plain, from the *crupellarii*; men armed at all points, mentioned by Tacitus. Incapable of locomotion, and perfectly unassailable by offensive weapons, they must have been conveyed to their posts in chariots; a necessary fact, which will explain the nature of the British warfare; the probable use of the chariot; and its efficiency in battle. There can be no doubt, but that the British light troops used all the defensive

armour, compatible with the nature of the service. Successful opposition can only be accounted for, by the possession of all requisite defensive, and offensive arms. The arms, and discipline, of the Roman army, were effectually counterbalanced, by the alternate advances, and retreats, of the Britons; which broke down the legionary soldier; and in the formidable irruption of war-chariots. By this process, not only was the Roman line broken; but the cavalry, and light troops, to whom alone, offensive operations were assigned, were liable to be cut off from the main army, and destroyed in detail. This system of attack, and defence; which plainly requires the most consummate discipline, and long experience, in the field, was so effective; that the troops of Afranius, in their contests with Cæsar, imitated it with the most complete success. They had learned this mode of warfare, from the Lusitanians, and preferred it to their own. The Britons, therefore, instead of being deficient in military tactics, may have improved the ancient system of warfare. The custom, then, of going to battle comparatively unarmed, originated at an earlier period than is generally supposed; and arose, not from mere gallantry, for the principle of obtaining superiority in attack, and defence, is almost unlimited; but from the experience, of the disadvantages of a cumbrous panoply. In the most minute points, the arts of attack, have always been

superior to mere defence; and it is clearly impossible, that any human being could sustain a mass of metal, impervious to all missile weapons. In the unfortunate campaign of Crassus; an expedition, which, in many points, resembled the disastrous invasions of Britain; the Parthian arrows penetrated the shields of the Romans; pierced the arm; and fixed the feet to the ground. An ineffectual protection, therefore, may well have been sacrificed to a celerity of motion; better calculated, on the whole, both for attack and defence. The Britons, from being able to throw weapons from the heights of Dover, and to attack the invading army in flank, must have possessed military engines: the existence of which, among the Gauls, is proved by the testimony of Cæsar. The construction of military engines, is obvious and easy. The problem, of using a stronger bow, than the unassisted human arm could manage, must have occurred to every enquiring mind; and its early solution, makes the universality of these engines very probable. In their simplest form, they would soon exist in the utmost perfection; and ingenuity, would exert itself perpetually, to add to their powers. The statement of Cæsar, that the Britons were alarmed by the unusual form of the Roman engines, proves that they had been familiar with engines of a different construction. Without such advantages, there would have been a prodigious inequality between the British troops, and the Roman legions.

For, in addition to the wall of brass, formed by the infantry; and twelve hundred and fifty-four cavalry, the riders, and horses, covered with mail; a consular army had one hundred and thirty-six engines, drawn by mules; each of them worked by eleven men; which threw javelins with such prodigious force, that no armour, of horse or man, could resist them. It was also attended by twenty engines, for casting masses of stone, of immense size; to the distance of a furlong; capable of dashing in pieces, both men and horses; of making breaches in the works of the enemy; and of discharging formidable instruments, whose iron was a cubit in length, with a large ball of lead, to add to their force. Nearly resembling modern artillery in their effects, they would have completely terrified an army of savages, or barbarians. Like cannon, they could cover their own troops, and arrest the progress of an attacking army. The Roman carroballista, formed a moveable battery; and the same effect was probably produced by the British chariots. Bows of steel, which are of unknown antiquity, might easily have been appended to them, and been bent and discharged by means of levers. The chariots acted at a distance, as well as in actual contact, and never seem to have suffered in action. No great disproportion could have existed between the British, and Roman, cavalry and infantry: and if we form an image of the British chariot,

as of an open car, drawn by unarmed horses, and driven by naked barbarians; when it was capable of penetrating the troops of horse; breaking the Roman line; and spreading dismay thro' the legions which had conquered the world; we shall not form an adequate idea of an engine of war, so formidable in appearance, and so dreadful in reality. According to Cæsar's statement, they united the advantages of cavalry, and infantry; and, when not actually engaged, were drawn up as a protection to the British, who retired thro' the intervals; and a rampart against the enemy, who, as from towers, might be assailed by all kinds of missile weapons. It is a proof of the manner in which Cæsar was pressed by the Britons, that he had no opportunity, of executing measures which had been eminently successful, against the chariots of Antiochus, and Mithridates. The circumstance, of the chariots manœuvring before the Roman line, with tremendous noise, indicates, that the horses must have been defended by plate, and scale armour; whose rattling, when at full speed, would have produced the most appalling sound. Gongs, too, like those of the Cimbri, and the Parthians; whose deep and dreadful sound, like thunder, dismayed the troops of Crassus; might have been employed, to frighten the horse, and to spread panic among the legions. Adapted for defence, as well as offence, they mingled with the heavy armed cavalry; exposed

themselves to the archers; and attacked the legionary soldier. Unless perfectly disciplined, they would have caused the utmost confusion, among the army that employed them. The contrivance, and arrangement, of an effective corps of chariots, would be a difficult problem, for the most expert mechanics, and skilful generals, of the present day. Many mistakes have arisen, from referring entirely to Phrygian models, which were designed entirely to carry the leading warriors to the combat; and to facilitate their retreat. The British chariots were, most probably, imitations of the Canaanitish chariots, and the Harmamaxa of the East. The description of them, by Tacitus, can by no means apply to the Phrygian model; and his term *covinus*, implies an arched covering, and protection, for the combatants; a form, which they assumed in Greece, and which they originally possessed in the East. A conjecture may be formed, from a description in the prophet Nahum, of the chariot appearing like a torch; that the body was plated with burnished brass: it thus became a striking object in the field; and possessed the qualities of an impregnable, locomotive, fortress. In addition to the formidable scythes, cutting asunder, and overturning, all obstacles; projecting points, and sharp weapons, defended the chariot from attack. One material use of the chariots, as each of them contained several persons, was the speedy conveyance of

bodies of infantry, to any particular spot; a manœuvre, which has often decided the fate of battles. The whole of the British chariots, could easily convey 40,000 men, or a third of the standing army, to the relief of columns overpowered by the enemy. When this object was effected, they were ranged at a convenient distance for receiving the troops, when oppressed by the enemy. Their peculiar construction, and extraordinary discipline, enabled them to act with security, in the rear of the enemy; exposing the legions, if prevented from forming the hollow circle, to the most imminent peril. As may be learned from the disposition of the chariots, in the armies of Cyrus; some preceded the main army, for the purpose of breaking the line; while others, were stationed at the extremity of each wing.

The formation of a corps of chariots, if the arts, necessary for their component parts, be considered; the horses themselves, and their defensive armour; the arms, and pay of the men; must have been a source of immense, and continual, expenditure, to the nation. But, as the war-chariots, must have grown out of the use of the horse, and the carriage, for the convenience, and pleasure, of private persons; a very long line of progressive civilization, and wealth, must have preceded their establishment. The number, however, may have been exaggerated by Cæsar, as a palliative for the want of success; the ultimate

result of his pretended victories. The invading army of Cyrus, had only three hundred chariots; and when his dominions embraced, not only Egypt and Ethiopia, but all the countries, between the Erythræan, and Euxine seas, he had only two thousand chariots, in an army of 120,000 cavalry, and 600,000 infantry. In the battle of Arbela, the proportion, for an army of 45,000 horse, and 200,000 foot, was only two hundred; and the completion, even of this number, was a matter of no ordinary difficulty, as appears from the extreme care, with which their respective contributions, are ascribed to different nations. If the same system of warfare, subsisted in the East, and in Britain; the disproportion of the number, to the greatest armies, that could possibly have been supported by the Britons, must impeach its truth. But the account given by Cæsar, that they descended in actual combat; that the bodies of the British troops, were divided by long intervals; that unhurt, and fresh men, were substituted for the wounded, and the tired; confirms the supposition, that the chariots were employed in supplying each division, with fresh troops. These manœuvres, have a strong resemblance to the most effective tactics of Buonaparte; and the short hints of Cæsar, give a most favorable idea of the discipline, and military science, of the ancient Britons. The cavalry of the British, if it resembled that of the ancient Germans, was, probably, a most efficient

force. In Germany, an equestrian rank existed; descending, not regularly to the eldest son, but to the individual best qualified to support it. The importance of this rank, may be inferred from the Celtic armies, which invaded Greece. Each knight was attended by two esquires, who collectively formed a body of reserve; supplied their principals with fresh horses; and took their places when they fell. The cavalry of Cæsar, as, the horse formed generally a third part of the Celtic armies, must have been considerably outnumbered in Britain: and, as with the chariots they surrounded three legions; the cavalry of the Britons must have been very numerous. From the testimony of an eastern writer, that scarlet was the military dress in that part of the world, there is no absurdity in supposing, that in consequence of the known commerce of Britain, with Tyre, her soldiers adopted the same colour. This, with the necessary defensive, and offensive armour; and ornaments of brass, and ivory, on their dress, and equipage; would compose an army, magnificent in appearance; worthy of a great nation; and more agreeable with the nature of their exploits, than the common suppositions. It is suspicious that Cæsar makes no enumeration, of the numbers of the British cavalry, and infantry; which, if fairly given, would have demonstrated, that with his limited number of horse, he could have effected nothing.

The horses used in the chariots, and in the cavalry, amounting at least to 40,000, must have formed but a small proportion of the number employed in the whole country. The immense consequent amount of private carriages, waggons, and horses; for pleasure, husbandry, and trade; confirm the vast riches, and power, of the country. A certain proportion only of revenue, can be devoted to war: for war is a means, not an end; the sacrifice of a part, for the preservation of the whole. The national wealth, therefore, must always be a considerable multiple of the sum allowed for its defence; and a numerous and well-appointed army, is a direct argument, of the riches, and population, of the country; which are also proved by foreign testimony. Tacitus says, that Britain had gold, silver, and other metals; the price of victory. From the immense contributions required by individuals, and by the empire; it must be concluded that the Britons had open, and tangible, sources of wealth; such as commerce, manufactures, and productive landed property; sufficient to involve every point of civilization. No fresh causes were in operation, between the invasions of Julius Cæsar, and Agricola. If, then, sufficient gold, and silver, abounded in the island, to satiate the public, and private rapacity, of the Romans; the same must have existed before the time of Julius Cæsar.

A corps of chariots, even if no mention had

been made of roads, by Cæsar, and the chronicles, tho' their existence is distinctly stated by both, necessarily implies them. Regular roads must have preceded, or immediately followed, the introduction of wheeled carriages; and their construction would be easy, to a nation which could form the chariot, and build the ship. War delights in pomp, and circumstance: the horse, therefore, would not be used in a rough state; nor would the chariot be left exposed to the injuries of the weather. But horses, and chariots, require roomy buildings; thus a great addition is made to the offices of cities. The houses of the Britons, must have far exceeded such buildings, in beauty, and convenience. Thus, as to the general state of the kingdom, the commentaries, by no means effectually contradict the testimony of the chronicles.

In the account of the actual invasion, the most intricate confusion is occasioned by Cæsar's suppressing the mention of a third invasion; and the previous co-operation of native forces; and by the condensation of the second, and third invasions, into one narrative. The suppression of truth, the inversion of incidents, prevarication, and direct falsehood, unite in throwing obscurity over the transactions of Cæsar, with the Britons. The chronicles mention three separate invasions of Britain; the last of which, by the aid of civil dissensions, enabled the Romans to impose a no-

minimal tribute on the country. The expeditions recorded by Cæsar, were not so far successful, but calamitous in the highest degree; a third invasion, therefore, is wanting, to explain the narrative; and thus, the evidence of the chronicles is confirmed. The first landing of Cæsar, was made with extreme difficulty, after various repulses; a succession of manœuvres; an ineffectual appeal to the most desperate resource in offensive warfare; and only gained by a cruel stratagem, the constant practice of antiquity, even from its earliest tactics. It is evident, that Cæsar made an attempt to land under the heights of Dover, where the shore was strongly fortified; and where the chariots, supplied with light military engines, were able to annoy his army. His profound silence respecting the report of Volusenus, who had spent five days in surveying the coast; and who, doubtless, pointed out the beach at Dover, as the best place for landing; in a document, sufficiently important to be communicated to a council of war; is extremely suspicious. This report, probably gave more favorable indications of the wealth, and power, of the Britons; the state of their navy; and the preparations on the coast; than Cæsar, after his repeated failures, thought fit to publish. The mission of Volusenus, was apparently of a peaceful nature; as the Britons seem to have had some communication with him, and to have invited him to land. The space

of his voyage was sufficient, for reconnoitring the coast of Kent, and for a short progress up the Thames. It is singular, that Cæsar should have delayed to communicate the report of Volusenus, till after an attempt on the nearest coast; which attempt, is evident, from his remaining, from ten o'clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon; from his perfect conviction, that weapons could be cast from the heights to the shore; and from the council of war, which he assembled in that interval. A very short time, would have enabled him to judge from mere appearance, that the place was unfit for landing. But in the language of Cæsar, unfitness, is often substituted, for want of power. After a repulse in this quarter, which, however true, would certainly not have been confessed in the commentaries; Cæsar succeeds in landing at another place, after a long, sanguinary engagement. It is commonly, but erroneously supposed, that the Romans hesitated to leap into the water, till encouraged by the individual gallantry of the standard bearer. But the troops, before this event, had actually left the vessels; when, embarrassed by the weight of their armour; and the difficulty of keeping their ranks in the water; and repeatedly charged by the British cavalry; they were driven back to their ships. The whole conduct of the British army, shews the utmost self-possession; and the most intimate familiarity with the Roman mode

of fighting. This repulse is evident, from the blame thrown by Cæsar on the want of alacrity, in the Roman troops; and much more, from the next manœuvre, that of flanking the enemy, with the ships of war, and the military engines. This measure covered the retreat of his troops, and arrested the pursuit of the enemy; while the Romans, completely broken, and intimidated, regained their ships. They then, with reason, hesitated to renew the attack; till Cæsar gave the usual order in desperate cases, that the standard of the tenth, a legion, which probably bore the same analogy to the other legions, that the tenth cohort did to the other cohorts; and was rewarded for extraordinary, and dangerous services, by additional pay, and privileges; should be advanced, and exposed to the power of the enemy. The standard bearer, as may be learned from various similar instances, had only the option, between the danger of the enemy, and certain death, by the orders of the commanding officer. It is therefore natural, that he should have preferred an advance, which at least gave him a chance of escape. It is singular, that the name even, of this officer, who rendered so distinguished a service to the army, should be omitted; and no mention made, whether he fell, or survived the battle. Similar motives influenced the troops, for, not to follow the standard, was an act of desertion punishable with death. To suppose, that the

standard bearer, on his own responsibility, ventured on a step of such importance; is to have a very imperfect idea of ancient discipline; by which, an advance without orders, and flight, were equally punishable with death. Failure, therefore, or success, would have been fatal to the individual. Besides, the advance would have been useless, if the army, thro' fear of decimation, had not been prepared to follow him. The whole army, therefore, moved forward on compulsion, and in consequence of general orders. The standard was sacred, and the movement, was preceded by invocations to the Gods, in the set form used on great emergencies, praying that the event might prove favorable to the individual, and to the Roman people. A similar ceremony, no doubt, took place in the seventh legion; for, without the co-operation of the whole army, the projected advance, would have been useless. But even this measure, as far as regards attack, of the utmost desperation, tho' it caused a renewal of the battle, was not attended with success. The troops, neither able to keep their ranks, nor to follow their proper standards; repeatedly, and successfully charged by the British cavalry; and flanked by a discharge of missile weapons; were thrown into the utmost confusion. At this conjuncture, Cæsar had recourse to a most ancient, and cruel stratagem; first recorded of Nestor, and afterwards practised in the armies of the

great Cyrus, who stationed chosen troops in the rear, for the purpose of killing those who fled, with the express, and emphatic charge, to make themselves more terrible than even the enemy, to the coward. Scipio acted in precisely the same manner, at Numantia; and the consul, Atilius, opposed the third line, to those who fled from the battle; with the intimation, that if they avoided the enemy, they should fight with him. The *Triarii* then had a secondary, and less popular use; not only being a reserve against the enemy, but also intimidating the fresh levies, which were always stationed in front. These examples make it likely, as Cæsar, after a succession of desperate, and almost hopeless battles, could not have retained fresh troops about his person; that the men sent round in boats, were, either *lictors*, or the *Prætorian* cohort; whose double pay, and peculiar privileges, were probably purchased by services of this unpopular nature; who were ordered to kill every soldier, who might again attempt to fly to the ships. A body of men, too small for a reinforcement, would be sufficient, to restrain individual attempts at flight; while the main body, might be compelled to advance, by threats of decimation; which, the cruel discipline of the Romans, often inflicted on a conquered army. Even Augustus, frequently punished with death, the centurions, and common soldiers, who fled in battle.

Tho' Cæsar at length effected a landing, which must have been at a late hour in the evening; a complete victory; with the immediate subjection of the Britons; is evidently impossible. It is more probable, that Comius, and the Morini, were sent to demand the surrender of Cæsar, and his army. As Cæsar had no cavalry, and consequently could take but small advantage, even of real conquests; the obvious policy of the natives, unless they had much valuable property to lose in Kent, which would establish the fact of civilization; must have been, to harrass the Romans, by successive advances, and retreats; to cut off their supplies; to prolong the war till winter; during which, they might conquer them in detail, and prevent their return. That this was their mode of acting, is evident, from the words of Cæsar himself; the immense consternation of the army, on the nearly total destruction of the fleet; and the hasty return of the Romans to the Continent. There is some mystery, respecting the late arrival of the cavalry ships, and the alleged tempest in sight of the British coast; which, according to Cæsar, drove them back to Gaul. But there is more reason to conclude, that they foundered at sea, if the storm was real; or were intercepted by the British fleet. The simultaneous destruction of the other shipping, strengthens the latter supposition. Tho' the supposed storm had been raging all day, the usual precautions,

of drawing the ships on shore, were omitted; and they were left exposed to its violence at night. They were, most probably, partly destroyed by the navy, which, on the preceding day, had captured the transports. But if the conquest had been complete, this loss might have been easily supplied; the new subjects of the empire must have brought provisions; and Gaul, having been left at peace, after a succession of complete victories, an obvious policy, would have led the Romans to winter in the island. The provisions of the army, nearly perished with the navy; and in the greatest distress, they were shut up in the camp; whose limited size, betrayed the smallness of their numbers. The necessity of procuring corn, obliged the Romans to forage with a whole legion, the seventh; whose total destruction was rumoured in Italy, and is strongly confirmed by the commentaries. Nor let it startle the reader, that a seventh legion, subsequently makes its appearance; as it must have been composed entirely of new levies. Cæsar found this legion, which had been compelled to form a hollow circle, with the line broken; and totally surrounded by the cavalry, and chariots of the enemy. From this situation, nothing but the most complete victory, could rescue it. The account of Cæsar is most improbable; that, without a battle, the enemy desisted from the attack; the seventh, recovered from the alarm; and both legions

returned in safety to the camp. The real truth appears to be, that Cæsar, so far from rescuing the seventh legion, was himself routed with immense slaughter, and pursued to his camp, by the whole British army. In these circumstances, the Britons, are again represented, as supplicating for peace; tho' they must have again demanded the surrender of the Romans; who, probably deferring their answer till the next day, slipped away in the night, with a reduced army, and a few remaining troops. Cæsar dwells in a most suspicious manner, on the safe return of the legions to the continent; and unnecessarily mentions, that these very troops, who, from their late severe service, had a claim to be put in garrison; were immediately sent against the Morini: Cæsar thus parting with the immediate command of the favorite tenth legion, which he transferred to Labienus. The minute attention too, by which he follows the fate of the 300 men, who embarked in the two ships of burden; excites a suspicion, that these were the only remains, of the first army which invaded Britain.

If entire credit be given to the account of Cæsar's first invasion, undertaken with a consular army, esteemed by military writers, as sufficient to engage with immense masses of the enemy; yet the vastly increased scale of the second expedition, comprising more than two consular armies; a force, thought sufficient, for the greatest emer-

gencies, in the face of the most numerous, and ferocious assailants; shews that the conquest was incomplete. By more than doubling the army in the second expedition, Cæsar plainly declares, that two legions were not sufficient for the conquest of the island; and that his boasts of previous victories, were false; a circumstance, which would diminish the credit of his second narrative. Every thing which impeaches its truth, will thus be doubly aggravated.

The expected advantages from the subjugation of Britain, must have been esteemed a compensation, for the expense of building nearly a thousand ships; and for the risk of leaving Gaul in an unsettled state. Nor could this war have been considered, as a subject of subordinate interest: 120,000 men, on the shores of the channel; preparing, with a thousand ships, to invade Britain: must have agitated the whole of Europe. The winter's preparation in Spain, and Italy, must have made this armament the subject of general conversation, and the most anxious speculation. So far from originating from individual desire of glory, these expeditions, must have received the decided sanction of the senate, and people of Rome.

If Britain had been conquered, and the conquest worthless; both of which positions were subsequently maintained; there existed no necessity for a renewed attack: but, the loss of the

first army; shame; the desire of revenge; and cupidity; would naturally urge Cæsar to a second attempt. On every supposition, the country was too powerful, to submit to a small army; and rich enough, to reward an armament, equal in numbers, to the forces which formerly conquered Asia. The natural inference is, that the resources of Britain, must have equalled those of Phrygia, and her allies.

The whole efforts of the Roman people, in conjunction with their Celtic allies, if the latter were not principals in the war against Britain, had been employed for a whole year, in the completion of a navy, for the final conquest of the island. Cæsar, from the experience of the former year, expressly directed the ships to be made low, and broad, to be more easily drawn on shore; a mode of construction, which, while it obviated the danger of tempests, might still leave the ships exposed to the attack of the enemy's fleet. Any damage, therefore, to the vessels, after the landing in Britain, when of course they would have been drawn up on the shore, must be falsely attributed to a storm; and as, from the position of the Roman encampment, they were only accessible by sea, their destruction could only be effected by a British fleet.

It is remarkable, that the Gauls, in the course of this winter, and in the following spring, and summer, offered no obstacle to the Romans; nei-

ther attacked the winter quarters; nor attempted to obstruct the building of ships; or to destroy them when finished. If this deceitful calm, be compared with the simultaneous attack of the winter quarters, after the second return of Cæsar from Britain; the supposition, true as to the Morini, will be confirmed as to all the Gauls, that they connived at the invasion of Britain, from the confident expectation, that it would be fatal, or highly disastrous to the Roman arms.

Immediately before the embarkation, forty ships, on their way to join the fleet, were probably intercepted by the British navy; for a tempest, to which the calamity is attributed, would only have detained them, like the whole armament, in port, till more favorable weather. If they afterwards joined the fleet, the circumstance would not have been worth recording; but if, as may be presumed, from the total silence of Cæsar, they never joined the fleet, it may be inferred, that they fell into the power of the enemy.

In confirmation of the existence of a British fleet; it may be observed, that Cæsar, besides choosing a perfect calm; always embarked during the natural night; when the hostile fleet was not likely to keep the sea. It is also confirmatory of the supposition, that strict orders were issued, to urge the ships of burden to their utmost speed; for it is absurd, to suppose that the soldiers, of their own accord, and with one consent, should have

submitted to this additional labour, unless the existence of a British fleet be granted; in which case, every individual would use his utmost exertions to elude it. If it be considered, that the time was given to the rowers, by an officer, stationed at the stern; it will be evident, that a regular command, would be the only explanation of an increase of speed. There must have been a most perfect agreement, between all the individuals in the fleet, to make this measure effectual; and this could only have been accomplished by a concerted signal. The whole conduct of Cæsar, in this expedition, respecting the navy, amply confirms the existence of a British fleet. The ships were built expressly for speed; for the purpose, no doubt, of evading the sailing vessels; a clear indication, that the ships of burden, in the first expedition, had, from their slowness, fallen into the power of the enemy. They were also made lower, and broader, than usual; and, of course, with flat bottoms; that they might be easily drawn on shore. Yet Cæsar wishes it to be believed, that he left them, in full confidence of their safety, at anchor in the open road. The reason for this statement is plain. The ships, by his own confession, were destroyed; which destruction, could not have been effected by a tempest; if, as the care used in their construction intimated, they had been regularly drawn on shore, as the ships had been on the first expedition. As the

enemy gave no obstruction to this obvious, and usual method; the ships must have been drawn on shore; and in this position, attacked, and partly destroyed by the British fleet. The minute description of their construction, is one of the oversights to which falsehood is perpetually liable; and is totally inconsistent with Cæsar's statement, that he left the ships at anchor, while he marched into the interior. The remedy applied by Cæsar; the most appropriate against a naval attack; and often resorted to on similar occasions; would have been a superfluous precaution, against a tempest. By the most unremitting labour, of ten days and nights, the remaining shipping was drawn within the fortifications of the camp. Unless it be supposed, that the land forces were strong enough to turn the camp, that is, completely to overpower the Romans; and from this supposition, the most important deductions may be made; the danger of a renewed attack from the sea, is unquestionable. If these instances, be joined to the total silence of Cæsar, in his account of the invasions of Britain, as to the British shipping; contrasted with his casual mention of it on another occasion; the aid, entirely naval, given to the Veneti, and equally effective with their ships of war; and the casualties of the second return from Britain; it will be difficult to disbelieve the testimony of Ponticus Verunnus, that the seas were covered with the fleets of Cassivellaunus, in pursuit of the Romans.

The united army, of Cæsar, and the Ædui, which landed in Britain, on the second invasion, could not have been less, on the lowest computation, than 120,000 men. Athenæus says that Cæsar sailed with a thousand ships; and the commentaries allow more than eight hundred; each of which, contained one hundred and fifty men. The number of cavalry, which was probably underrated, as being half of the contribution of the united nations of Gaul, was 2000; entirely Gallic; a small force, to be opposed to the British cavalry, and 4000 chariots. The progress of the campaign, shews that it was nearly ineffective. At the highest computation of the troops of Cæsar, the allies exceeded them, by 20,000 men; including the cavalry, a most important arm in Celtic warfare. Cæsar, therefore, tho' he constantly arrogates the chief command, probably acted, only as an ally to the Ædui.

The grand object of the campaign, was the occupation of London; in which direction, the army advanced thro' the Watling-street; the great British road from the sea coast. Cæsar describes this road, as a highway, with other highways, and roads, branching from it. His words are so plain, and unequivocal, that it is wonderful, how any person could have imagined the non-existence of regular roads, in Britain, before the time of Cæsar. At the distance of about twelve miles from the coast, the army met with a regularly

fortified place, undoubtedly the city of Caer-kent; so strong, that the walls could only be approached, in the usual manner of investing towns, by the mound, and the testudo. But, as Cæsar, when he wrote the commentaries, had relinquished the occupation of Britain, it was not his policy, to inform the Roman people, that the island abounded with large, and opulent cities. After two severe battles, in which, as it appears from the complaints of the Celtic warfare in general; and particularly of the chariots; which, by Cæsar's account, were alone equivalent to the whole invading army, the Romans suffered very much; Cæsar arrived at the Thames. He pretends that he passed the river, in the face of the army of Cassivellaunus; tho' the opposite bank was strongly fortified with palisades, some of which were driven under the water. But the horse, could not have effected a passage thro' these impediments; nor could the legionary soldier have crossed the river up to the neck in water. But this account, rendered dubious, by the statement of Orosius, who merely says that the danger was avoided by the Romans, is directly contradicted by the Saxon chronicle; a dry abridgment of some lost British history. The hostility manifested by the Saxons, against every record of British greatness, makes it impossible, that a forgery should have been committed by a Saxon writer; the statement must have existed in a previous native history. An express contradiction

of the passage, if real, could never have been believed in Britain. The Saxon chronicle had no motive to pervert the truth; but Cæsar had a double inducement, in his evident wish to aggrandize his own exploits, and in the extreme easiness, with which any statement flattering to the Roman arms, would be received in Italy. The passage of the Thames, like those of the Rhine, is fabulous and visionary. The total silence of Cæsar as to the repassage of the Thames, and the return of the army to the coast; and the necessity that the grand army of the Britons, encumbered with chariots, must also have twice passed the Thames, shew that the subsequent events happened entirely in Kent. Cassivellaunus having dispatched his cavalry, and infantry, to attack the Roman camp on the coast; harrassed the retreating army, with a corps of chariots; which, issuing from the smaller highways, and roads, into the Watling-street, perpetually broke, and routed, detached portions of the Roman army. The attack was so effective, that the cavalry, unequal to the conflict, were unable to leave the legions. It is clear, that an army, so situated, and decidedly inferior to the enemy, must have suffered immense losses in the retreat. The British army, for the purpose of further obstructing the Romans, re-occupied Caer-kent; and, after a short resistance, evacuated the place, by the opposite gate, without having sustained the least injury. Cæsar having completely

failed in his design on London, dignifies Caerkent, by the name of the city of Cassivellaunus; that, by being supposed to have taken the metropolis, every object of the expedition, might appear to have been accomplished. The whole British army, not merely the forces of Kent, must have besieged the Roman camp: and Cæsar must have been placed, to his great peril, between the corps of chariots, and the main British army. By a desperate effort, he fought his way, doubtless with prodigious slaughter, thro' the opposing army; and regained the camp, with a few followers. For the main army, must have been completely broken up, and destroyed, in the retreat; the British cavalry, and infantry, having completed the work of destruction, begun by the war chariots. The immediate departure of Cæsar, by night, is far from confirming the alleged surrender of Cassivellaunus; tho' it agrees admirably with his own fears, of capture, and destruction; and plainly shews, that Cæsar himself had been again summoned to surrender. Cæsar's account of his embarkation, declares the immense losses, which he had sustained in the second invasion. Of a thousand ships, he had lost by far the greater number; for the remaining vessels, were only able to convey half of an army, reduced by a succession of severe engagements, in advancing, and retreating, thro' eighty miles of an enemy's country; and in the capture, and recapture, of a

strongly fortified city; if we surmise no greater calamities, than are actually expressed in the narrative of Cæsar. The plea, of an excessive number of captives, is nugatory; as the cavalry, rendered ineffective by the British chariots, and forced to remain under the protection of the legionary soldiers, could not possibly have made many prisoners. Cæsar, by his own account, is convicted of falsity, in asserting that only forty ships perished in the supposed tempest. The extreme care with which he relates, that neither on this, nor any former occasion, any ship, containing soldiers, was missing; but only those that returned empty from the continent; shews the prevalence of unfavorable reports; and the probability, that a great part of his navy, with troops on board, was captured by the enemy. But, if it be granted, that a moiety of the troops returned to the continent in safety, as very few of the empty ships, and of those built by Labienus, reached Britain; it is evident, that very few, of the remaining half of the army, could have escaped. It is singular, that the ships built by Labienus, could only have conveyed the ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, which were left to guard the coast; it is probable, therefore, that these were the only troops expected to return; that the rest of the army had perished; and the former navy, either destroyed, or prevented from being drawn to the sea; as it will be recollected,

that the operation of enclosing it within the camp, was difficult, and tedious; and that, of course, it could not be relaunched, in less time, and with less difficulty. But if the first moiety, as there is reason to believe, was captured by the fleets of Cassivellaunus; as confessedly very few empty ships returned to Britain; very few individuals, of an army of 120,000 men, could have escaped to Gaul. Some most extraordinary calamity, such as the loss of whole armies; for reinforcements must have been otherwise provided for; must have occasioned the unusual, and pressing request, to Pompey, for fresh armies. The immense losses in Britain, are a better explanation of this demand, than the destruction of the army of Sabinus, and Cotta; especially, if it be recollected, that their troops consisted entirely of fresh levies. Besides this, Labienus, in the civil wars, addressing Pompey, in observations, uncontradicted by Cæsar, and consequently true, says; "Think not, that these are the legions, which conquered Gaul, and Germany. I was present in all those battles, and can, of my own knowledge, affirm that but a very small part of that army now remains." The omission of Britain, in this passage, is deserving of notice; perhaps, in the original report, it was accompanied with circumstances, which Cæsar was unwilling to publish. Strabo mentions, seditions among the troops; and commotions among the enemy; as the reasons for the return of Cæsar;

but these events are inverted; they were the consequences of disasters in Britain: for, if the army in Britain had perished, the new levies would have been discontented, and the enemy encouraged. The young soldier, encamped on the shore of a distant sea; with numerous, and hostile nations, between him and his native fields; almost in view of the destruction of large, and well-appointed armies; defective in discipline, the fruit of long experience, and anxious practice; might well view with dismay, the dangers that were thickening round him. In the same proportion, the confidence of the enemy would increase; and, full of the valour, and native alacrity, which have always distinguished that country, they would naturally use every effort, to expel the invader. Both these suppositions, are amply confirmed, by the subsequent events of the war. The Roman troops were separated, not on account of a bad harvest, a very inadequate cause for such a measure, but to prevent their combination. Ponticus Verunnus, apparently with great truth, attributes the rebellion in Gaul, to the losses in Britain; and certainly, Cæsar shows every sign of weakness; and the character of the war, becomes entirely different. Every conquest, and every position, was gradually, and silently relinquished. From the pompous statements of conquests, enumerated by Suetonius, over the whole country; from the Pyrenean forests, the Alps, and the Cevennes,

whatever was bounded by the Rhine, and the Rhone; must be deducted, not particular nations; but the whole of the countries invaded. The bloody stream of battle, which had flowed, thro' so many impediments, over Gaul, and part of Britain, was now retiring to its original source. The tide of war, was now turned to the south, and threatened to pass the Alps, and deluge Italy.

The sanguinary contests, which preceded the invasions of Britain, were "a civil game," compared with the scenes of desperation, which followed them. The war, which, till this time, had always ended with the summer, now begins at the commencement of winter; a season, usually devoted, by the most hostile nations of antiquity, to mutual repose. A plan, regularly concerted, separates the legions; entirely prevents their co-operation; and even drives them, by thousands, to suicide: an example, almost unparalleled, of extreme desperation. Cæsar affects to cover his real fear, by the pretence of a stratagem; allowing the enemy to surround his rampart; cast weapons into his camp; and even send heralds, to demand his instant surrender. If it be recollected, that these strange proceedings happened at the end of the fifth year, the nature of previous conquests may be doubted. The complete victory, claimed by him, must have been, either an evasion of the enemy, or a successful escape, by breaking thro' the line in one point. Cæsar was unwilling, or

perhaps unable, to leave the army as usual, and visit Italy. Messengers, and embassies, traversed the country in every direction; and nightly councils were assembled in desert places; with such success, that the most ancient allies of the Romans deserted their standard; and the living material of war, was again demanded, and supplied. Thirty thousand men left Italy, not for conquest, but for the protraction of a miserable state of defensive warfare.

In the description of the campaign, inversions of incidents, are accompanied by the most striking suppression of truth. The wars of the Sequani, immediately before the arrival of Cæsar, and which ought to have preceded it in the narration, are again alluded to; and the alleged unsuccessful embassy of Divitiacus, to Rome, again asserted. Instead of any reasons for the invasion of Gaul; the geographical, and peculiarly unpleasing introduction, to the commentaries, is substituted, with the intention of misleading the reader.

As calamity thickens, round the unfortunate legions; and the chances of success diminish; the despair of the commander, leads him to add crime to misfortune; by the murder, of Acco, leader of the Senones; and of Guturvatus; the atrocious punishment of the garrison of Uxellodunum; and the persecution of many brave defenders of their country, who only avoided a similar death by flight. The horrors of these military executions,

is heightened, by the disgusting affectation of clemency. The remaining events of the Gallic war, assume a character of defensive warfare; Narbo is threatened, and the Province actually entered. If every other memorial were lost, the removal of the seat of war, from the banks of the Rhine, and the borders of the British channel, to the shores of the mediterranean; and, virtually, into Italy; shew that Cæsar was no longer conqueror. Famine, the last and greatest plague, of an invading army, and the surest indication of inferiority, assails the army; not in remote, and savage regions, but on the very borders of their resources. To the slow operations of famine, was added, the dreadful, and wellknown defeat, at Gergovia; where, as forty-six centurions perished, the army must have suffered the most dreadful slaughter. At this crisis, Cæsar, like Buonaparte, would have left Labienus, and the army, to their fate; but the roads, as he himself incautiously confesses, were completely intercepted. The reports spread by the Gauls, that Cæsar was retreating, and flying into the Province; confirm the probability, that this, if possible, was his real intention. It is an extraordinary admission of weakness, to record the assertion of the enemy, that none of their cavalry ought to be received in any house; or have access to his home; who had not twice charged thro' the Roman line. This must have been the ordinary practice of the

Gallic cavalry; otherwise the most distant suppositions of this kind, would never have occurred to a really victorious army. In fact, the Romans, harrassed in every quarter; and deprived of supplies, and reinforcements; must have ended the war, by a disgraceful treaty; the evacuation of the country; and contributions, differing in nothing, but the name, from a tribute. We view these events, by a light shed on them from the imperial dignity: but if Cæsar, as he intended, had committed suicide, in the civil wars; if, consequently, Pompey had been the founder of a new dynasty; Cæsar would have ranked, with Cataline, and Clodius; and would not have been considered, at this period, as the undoubted conqueror of Gaul, and Britain. In his own times, before he attained the supreme power; an event, which, for ages, turned the calm historian into a flatterer; he was not regarded as a conqueror, who was carrying the fame of the Roman arms into savage nations; but as one, abusing a powerful, and lucrative command, in a way likely to be dangerous to the republic. There is probably some truth in the statement of Ariovistus, that the government at Rome, desired the death of Cæsar. His mal-administration, excited the indignation of the senate; and the consul, Marcellus, moved his recall, before the expiration of his time; and Cato publicly declared, that when he dismissed the army, he would bring him to trial. These proceedings, are

amply justified, by a minute examination of the events of the war. It is plain, that the senate doubted much how to act; whether, at the instigation of Cato, to send commissioners into Gaul, and to deliver him, if guilty of breaking treaties, into the hands of his enemies; or to grant him a triumph. Policy, seconded by the power of Cæsar, dictated a triumph. Cæsar was extremely anxious to prevent accusation; and fearful of the intentions of Domitius, in the fourth year of his government, procured, by his interest, the election of Pompey, and Crassus.

It was not without design, that Cæsar left the commentaries incomplete. The account of the campaign, ends with the capture of Alesia, where the Romans again suffered the extremity of famine; and the surrender of Vercingetorix, the former friend of Cæsar, in the hope of reconciliation; but who was led in triumph, and then killed, according to the cruel, and atrocious custom of the Romans. Yet the general state of the Roman affairs in Gaul, was by no means improved.

With this partial success, so strangely rewarded by the senate, with twenty days of minor triumph, Cæsar evidently wishes to conclude his commentaries; for, tho' he had time to record the events of the civil war, he makes no further mention of Gaul. This silence is emphatic: Cæsar had nothing favorable to record, and he despaired of palliating the melancholy, and disgraceful,

termination of the war. It remained for Hirtius Pansa to inform the world, that actual invasions of the Province, and even of Italy, being on the point of execution, Cæsar virtually made Rome tributary to the Gauls; by the remission of the contributions; the erection of public works in their cities; and the bribery of the chief men. He was contented to purchase peace, with money, from nations, whom he pretended to have conquered. The leading men of the Gauls, for the destinies of nations are in the hands of a few; particularly in democracies, where individual authority, being unknown to the law, cannot be limited by it; betrayed the general good for private interest. The truth of this, is confirmed by Cicero, who says that Cæsar intended to conciliate the Gauls, by hope, and rewards. Any payment, from one nation to another, under these circumstances, is, in effect, a tribute. These separate evidences, confirm the testimony of Ponticus Verunnus, that Cæsar averted the invasion of Italy, by opening his treasures to the princes of Gaul. These events are rendered still more probable, by the ancient manner, recorded by Tacitus, of conciliating the German nations; by public presents, of horses, arms, gold chains, and even money; the amount of which, was estimated, by calculating the probable success, and risk, of a campaign. It was, in fact, a composition, instead of taking booty in kind; and affords ample testimony, of the

strength of the Celtic nations; and the comparative weakness of the Romans.

The most important corollaries, may be drawn from the history of this war. If the grossest deceptions, have been practised in a written statement, published, and open to detection; much more, must the laureate epistle to the senate, and still more, general assertions of victory, be suspected of deceit. Again, if Gaul, and Britain, were not uncivilized, neither were Moesia, Dacia, Illyria, nor the other nations which surrounded the Roman empire. Again, if "a cunningly devised fable," comprising the events of a few years, be necessarily exposed, on examination; that book, comprehending many ages, which has not suffered in its credit, from the most minute, and critical inspection, must necessarily be true.

It is pleasing to rescue from imputation, our ancestors; or those, who before us occupied the same country: but it is essential, on a religious account, to free the great families of Europe, from the barbarism falsely attributed to them.

If, according to the theory of Epicurus; the belief of Lucretius, and Cicero; and the general assent of antiquity, to the existence of aboriginal tribes; man sprung into being, by some plastic power of nature; then, it would be fair to trace him, thro' several gradations, from barbarism to civilization. It would be necessary, to infer his original savage state. But, if we look with

confidence to a divine origin; if the earliest account, which is more ancient than fable, and more true than history, indicates a consequent civilization; then, positive proof is required, of his degradation; and we forfeit our birthright, as confirmed by revelation, if we suppose that man was gradually reclaimed, from a brutal state.

Our view of the Roman history will be materially altered, if we consider the antagonists of the Romans, as not deficient in civilization; which is proved, by the great forces they raised; the successful resistance they opposed to invading armies; and the existence of immense naval, and military empires; the Phœnician, the Cilician, and the Celtic; which once claimed the dominion of the world, and nearly obtained it.

It will follow, that the nature of the contest with them, has been misrepresented; that the conquests of the Romans, in all countries, as in Britain, were precarious, and limited; and ever liable to the most fatal re-action: and that the decline, and fall, of the Roman empire, were consequences, which no human wisdom, or power, could have averted.

THE END.

ERRATA.

- Page 13, line 7, for Gibraltar read Gibraltar*
30, 9, for was read were.
38, 4, for Gibraltar read Gibraltar.
56, 11, for propogated read propagated.